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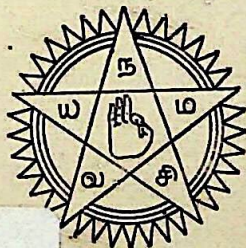
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VOLUME TWO

Edited by

Sekkizhaar Adi-p-Podi T. N. RAMACHANDRAN



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Sekkizhaar Adi-p-Podi T. N. RAMACHANDRAN



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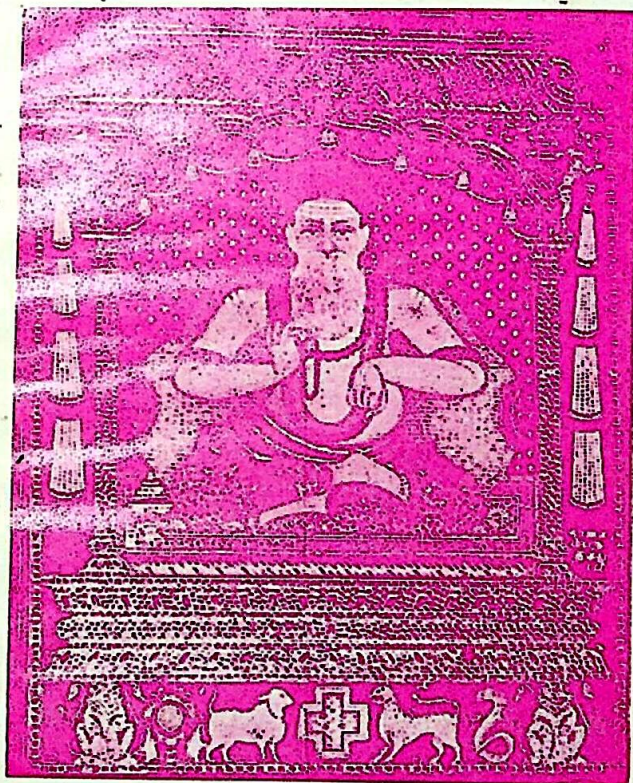
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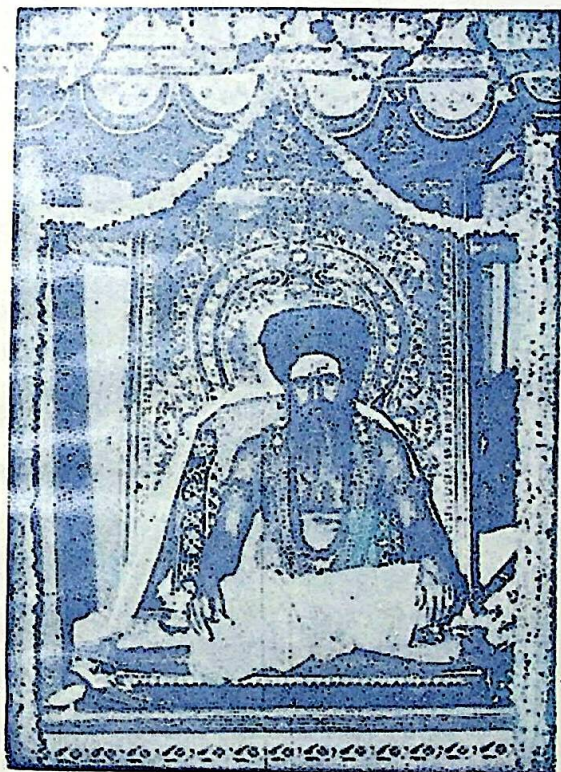
The Founder of Dharmapura Adhinam



His Exalted Holiness

**St. Gurugnanasambandha Paramacharya
Swamigal**

This Volume is blessed by



His Holiness

**Shanmukha Desika Gnanasambandha
Paramacharya Swamikal**

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GURU GNANASAMBANDHA DESIKA PARAMAACHAARYA SWAMIKAL

During the later half of the sixteenth century, there flourished at Srivilliputthur, a celebrated town of the Pandiya Realm, a couple-Subramania Pillai and Minaakshi - of the Kaarkaattha Vellala Clan, devoted to Lord Siva. Unto them a son was born. Wise men discerned in the child the God-touch. By his sixteenth year, the boy came by learning and wisdom, all unsought and untaught.

While yet a boy, he was taken by his parents to the shrine of Lord Chockanaatha, at Madurai. The very first darshan of Lord Sundareswara and His Consort Minaakshi stirred him to the very depths of his soul. The all-merciful Siva then enacted one of His purposive lilas. The sojourn of the boy and his parents, was extended. The boy Gnanasambandha spent long hours in the shrine. He was undergoing a supreme spiritual transformation. When his parents wanted to return to Srivilliputthur, the boy would not join them. All parental persuasion was of no avail. They then felt convinced that the Father of the Universe had claimed him and that he had to be left at the shrine.

Gnanasambandha, now the ward of the Lord Himself, continued to stay on at Madurai, hailing the Lord, practically round the clock. One day when he fared forth in the small hours to "The Tank of The Golden Lotus" for his ablutions, he beheld on its banks

holy devotees adorned with sacred ashes and rudraksha beads, perform pooja, each of them, to his idol before him. He was profoundly touched by this sight and he longed for a similar beatitude. That night Siva appeared in his dream and spake thus : "Your wish shall be fulfilled. Secure Our idol for your adoration from the north-east corner of the tank." The lad has had his mystical tremendum.

Before the first rays of the sun would empurple the orient, he rushed to the temple tank and plunged into it. Seconds later he surfaced up with the idol vouchsafed to him by Siva. He could not contain his ecstasy. He burst into hymn and song and solemn strain. "The eyes are ravished." Thus he melodized, hymned and concluded his first decad. He fervently prayed to Siva to establish him in Himself.

After a short spell, Siva appeared to him for a second time in his dream and bade him to proceed to Tiruvaaroor, thither to be blessed with the ritual-initiation at the hands of Kamalai Gnanaprakasas, a spiritual preceptor par excellence. To him also the Lord appeared in somno and directed him to receive the disciple.

Tradition has it that Gnanasambandha arrived at Tiruvaaroor on a Monday and had his first darshan of saintly Gnanaprakasas, seated as it were in his lotus - posture of meditation, in Siddhiswaram - the shrine of Dakshinamoorthi, situate within the Poong-Koil of Lord Thiagaraja. Gnanasambandha waited for the opportune moment and fell prostrate at the feet of his God-appointed guru who conferred on him Gnana-Diksha. The disciple thereupon hailed his Guru in wondrous verse, now known

as Pandaara-k-Kalitthurai. He also hymned the praise of his Ishta-moorthi, in what is to-day hailed by Saivites, as Chockanaatha Venpa.

Now commenced the servitorship of Gnanasambandha. Supreme was his obedience to his Master's behests. One dark night, the meditation of the Master in Siddhiswaram continued beyond the usual hour. The torch-bearer slipped into slumber. Gnanasambandha bore the torch himself, waited for his Guru to emerge from his meditation, and led the way. As the Guru entered his house he bade his disciple to abide without, and locked himself in. The moment the Master moved into the house, he lost himself in the contemplation of Siva. With a burning torch the servitor stood outside. Clouds rumbled and began to pour. Ceaseless was the shower throughout the night. However it pleased Lord Siva to perform a miracle which can be said to be the very reverse of Gideon's. While all round, the earth was drenched the ground on which Gnanasambandha stood, was dry. Not a drop of rain had fallen on him who stood there with a Casabiancan steadfastness.

At the pre-dawn hour, the Guru-pathni opened the door and witnessed before her the chela standing firm, torch-in-hand, and undrenched. She went into the house and reported the miracle to her sage-husband. The Master came out and sensed at once the spiritual perfection of his disciple. He directed him to settle at Dharmapuram which was not far off. It was here, the Guru said, that he should propagate the great tenets of Saiva Siddhantam.

Who can ever essay to describe the pangs which Gnanasambandha underwent when he had to part from

his Guru? The feelings of the devoted disciple, can, to an extent be thus rendered in first person :

"It is not a garment that I cast off this day, but a skin that I tear with my own hands.

"Nor is it a thought I leave behind, but a heart made sweet with (spiritual) hunger and thirst.

"Yet I cannot tarry longer.

... ..

"A voice cannot carry the tongue and the lips that gave it wings. Alone must it seek the ether."

Gnanasambandha settled down at Dharmapuram. In due time, it pleased Siva to make him Guru Gnanasambandha Desika Paramaachaarya Swamikal. To enable mankind tread the divine way leading to Siva, our Paramaachaarya composed, inter alia, Siva-Bhoga Saara and Tripadaartha Rupaathi Dasakarya Akaval.

During this time, a well-read scholar called Maraigana Pandaram flourished at Chidambaram. For all his scholarship, his exposition was but faulty. He preached to the world at large that Aananda (Bliss) was characteristic of Aanma (Soul). He posited that the soul too was Sacchidaanandarupi, thereby implying equality between pasu (soul) and Pati (Siva). His wide knowledge and powerful exposition drew to him numerous men. This scholar was also known as "Kan-Katti" (The Hoodwinked). Our Paramaachaarya felt that he really hoodwinked gullible men. Our Paramaachaarya mercifully refuted the fallacious theory set afloat by the misguided scholar. This came to be indited the classical

work of our Paramaachaarya, called "Mutthi Nichehayam" which established that Aananda is not inherent in the soul and that the soul purified by the Lord is made a fit participant of Aananda which is Siva's own. This beatitude is indeed mutthi (Mukti).

Ripe souls seeking enlightenment were drawn to our Paramaachaarya and among them, mention should be made of Aananda Paravasa, Sacchidananda, and Maruthur Aapath-uddharana. Our Paramaachaarya appointed Aananda Paravasa as his successor to The Throne of Wisdom. However as he was for ever immersed in the beatitude of Samadhi, at the intervention of holy men, our Paramaachaarya caused the mantle to fall on Sacchidananda.

From the Copper-plates of Dharmapuram, preserved in the archives of the Aadhinam, it is now known that the spiritual reign of our Paramaachaarya commences in 1561 A. D. The contents of the thirteen Tamil Copper - plates are now published in a book form. His spiritual reign appears to have lasted for four decades. and our Paramaachaarya entered Jiva Samadhi on Aparapaksha saptami, in Vaikasi. By the blessings of Lord Siva and our Paramaachaarya, the Holy Line of gurus, more famously known as Tirukkayilaaya paramparai flourishes, as ever. Esto Perpetua. The 26th in the Holy Line is Guru Mahasannidhanam Sri-la-Sri Shanmukha Desika Gnanasambandha Paramaachaarya Swamikal.

PREFACE

The first volume of this series was published in 1984 in connection with the First International Seminar on Saiva Siddhantam which was held in Dharmapuram. In our Editor's Note to that volume we made it clear that the Anthology, though published by the Dharmapura Adhinam, should yet not be construed as one which bore on it the Adhinam's seal of approval. The Note also contained a caution to the effect that the writings of Christians, in particular the missionaries, on Saivism, had to be studied against the background which was adumbrated in our Note. At the same time we did not refrain from showering well-merited encomia on the Christian writers who wrestled through the tangled maze of utterly alien material and managed to come out with commendable success, in such circumstances which would have daunted the ablest. For this volume also, the admonition holds good, and the concerned writers, we concede with joy, have earned our gratitude.

Readers who studied the first volume in depth felt that they were richly rewarded in that they came to know of standpoints and viewpoints of which they would have continued to be nescient if they had not encountered the articles in English. Like Oliver Twist they asked for 'more'. Hence the command from His Holiness to compile and publish this volume.

Ten articles, a translation in English of St. Umapati's "Nenju Vidu Thoothu" which is one of the fourteen Saiva Siddhanta Sastras and a translation of the Puraanam of Rudra Pasupatiyaar constitute this volume.

Rudra Pasupatiyaar is a *Naayanaar* who lived the Satarudriya Stotram—a much misinterpreted and misunderstood work. It is so as this work is divinely ambivalent. The near-perfect interpretation of the stotram, we daresay, is achieved for the first time by the astute scholar J Bruce Long to whom the world of Saivism owes an immense and undischargable debt of gratitude. His article at the end of this volume is its crown.

Most of the articles are from the original sources. Our aim is propagation of knowledge. No infringement of copyright is intended at all. We profusely thank the earlier publishers of these articles. They have done a signal service to the cause of Saivism. The International Institute of Saiva Siddhanta Reserach is indebted to the various writers whose articles adorn this volume. It is not our intention to make any profit out of this publication. This volume is sold almost at cost price. As stated supra, the accent is on the dissemination of knowledge. Cicero affirmed: "Sapientia est, ... rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque quibus eae res continenter, scientia" (Wisdom is the knowledge of things human and divine and of the causes by which those things are controlled.) Truly Saiva Siddhantam is that Wisdom.

The foot-notes appended by us to some of the articles serve two purposes, namely, clarification or amplification and rectification.

We are grateful to Dr. Krishna Sivaraman, truly a theandric incarnation of Saiva Siddhantam, for his guidance in the selection of articles.

Our colleague Siva Sri P. Arul Namachivayan, B. A., B. L., as usual, stood by us totally identifying himself with this work. The onerous and thankless job of proof-reading was cheerfully borne by him. Escaping his lynx-eyed scrutiny, if a few errors still appear in this work, the reader will have to bear with us. Errors like barnacles are difficult to shake off.

This compilation could be done in record time as we had free access to T.R.N. Memorial Library, Thanjavur. To the curator Dr. T. R. Suresh, we convey our special thanks.

We know not how we can requite the loving kindness bestowed on us by His Holiness, the 26th Pontiff of the Dharmapura Adhinam. It is this which sustains us in the true sense of the word.

Thanjavur
15-11-1988

Sekkizhaar Adi-p-Podi
T. N. Ramachandran

The Key of Knowledge OR The Fundamental Experiences of The Sanctified in Spirit

[The article printed hereunder is from the lectures delivered by Sir P. Ramanathan, K. C., C. M. G., (Solicitor-General of Ceylon) in America during the opening decade of this century. The lectures pertained to the Holy Bible. However the interpretation thereof was by the light of Eastern Gnaana Yoga. Siva Sri Ramanathan was a born spiritual teacher. He was at home in Saiva Siddhantam as well as Sankara Vedantam. His words would for ever carry far and wide the fruits of his profound insight into spiritual realities. The present essay formed Chapter IV of THE CULTURE OF THE SOUL AMONG WESTERN NATIONS, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, The Knickerbocker Press, 1906. Ed.]

In India those who have the "Key" called "Knowledge of God"¹ are known as *Jnanis*, or Knowers of the Truth or Wisdom²; and the Light, Wisdom, or Knowledge they possess is *Jnanam*. They are also called *Jivanmuktas*, or the Freed Ones, freed from bondage to folly or corruption or ignorance. Other men are not of the Truth. Being attached to the false shows and pleasures of the world they are *a-Jnanis*, unwise men, men in darkness, whose knowledge is foolishness (*a-Jnanam*), because it makes them to think that the Body is the Self or Ego

1. Called *Rati-Gnaanam* (Gnosis) Digitized by eGangotri

2. Cf. "ஞானத்தால் தொழுவார் சிவஞானியார்" அப்பர்

that knows; to believe that the only happiness available to man is through seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching, or through thinking and speaking of things past, present, or yet to come; to mistake the world for the goal to which it is the appointed way; and to rest assured that nothing exists beyond the plane of thought and the senses. In their ignorance they esteem as folly the long-suffering humility of the *Jnanis*; their love of all beings, great and small, good or bad; their inability to hate, and unwillingness to exact satisfaction for wrong done; their sense of thankfulness under all conditions; their refusal to judge others; their want of concern for the morrow, and their disregard for things deeply valued by the multitude. But the more enlightened of the *a-Jnanis* of India, who form a small fraction of the two hundred and fifty millions of Hindus who inhabit the country, feel drawn to the *Jnanis*, and it is to them they have always gone, from the remotest times to the present day, when craving for Light

Europeans in India know something of the exoteric or outer side of spiritual India, as exemplified in the symbolic worship carried on in the temples, but almost nothing of its esoteric or inner side. The vast majority of the natives themselves are ignorant of its existence, though many an exegesis is to be found, especially in Sanskrit and Tamil. Such works, however, are difficult to understand; and devotees who have been initiated into the subjective (esoteric) form of worship, — "worship in truth and in spirit" — are unobtrusive and far from communicative. But yet earnest seekers, who fail to find satisfaction in the objective (exoteric) method, soon discover that this system, which no

longer appeals to them, is really intended as a stepping-stone to the subjective (esoteric), and that the key of the latter is in the hands of the *Jnana-guru* or Teacher of Godly Wisdom, otherwise called Knowledge of God. Tired of the so-called enjoyments of the world and thirsting for the sanctification of the spirit, they go in quest of him, crying to him now, as in days of yore, "O saint, teach thou, for thou, art the way, and there is no other for us ;" "O saint, thou art my way, thou art my way" (*Maitrayana Brahmana Upanishad*, translated by Max Muller, in the fifteenth volume of "The Sacred Books of the East," pp. 290, 299). Occasionally, the saint comes to the very door of the seeker.

Of all teachers, the *Jnana-guru* is acknowledged to be the greatest. Unlike the *Vidya guru*, who imparts knowledge on any given secular subject; unlike the *Samaya-guru*, who imparts knowledge on any given religion, the *Jnana-guru* is concerned with the very foundation of knowledge, with Truth eternal, unchangeable. He is therefore a teacher of teachers, a *guru* in the real sense of the term, and hence called a *Jagat-guru*, or *Loka-guru*, a Preceptor or Light of the world.

He is found mostly in secluded places from Cashmere (*Kashmir*) to Cape Comorin (*Kumari*) living in the utmost simplicity. Some are so dead to the world as to go wholly unclad, seeing nothing but the reign of God everywhere. To them (and indeed every other *Jnani*), men, women, and children are all alike without any distinction whatever of sex, age, color, creed, or race. Some *Jnanis* are often mighty in attainments (*Siddhis*), but power by itself is not considered their distinguishing

characteristic What are called miracles are often performed by men who are not in fellowship with God, and who therefore misuse the powers entrusted to them. The truth is that God is the author of all forms of power, and He alone is the worker of all miracles, from the making of a mineral cell and the growing of a blade of grass to the suspension of myriads of stellar systems in space. Jesus always declared miracles to be God's works and not his own, and he condemned the display of the gifts of prophecy and miracle on the part of those who did not know God as works of iniquity (Matt. vii : 22). Knowledge of God and the consequent restfulness of spirit, called the Peace that transcends all thought, is indeed the only characteristic of *Jnanis*. Many of them are well known and much resorted to for instruction and advice ; others, undiscovered, perform worldly duties in different walks of life, like ordinary folk ; but ripe souls are drawn to them and learn of them in secret the way to God. These *Jnanis* in domestic life make the kindest and best of fathers, husbands, brothers, and citizens, though never so entangled in those relations as to forget for a moment the grace of God, which assigned to them and others their respective spheres in life for freedom.

It is such masters, who have attained fulness in love and Godly knowledge, that demonstrate to seekers in India that *God can be known by man*, while on earth and in the body. Sound doctrine is necessary to disestablish the mind from sensuous objects and establish it in the spirit, and then many an arduous work, having in view the development of righteousness and perfect love, should be undertaken. For mere study of the principles

relating to God, soul, and the world will not and cannot secure for the student actual knowledge of God. What he reads in books or hears from living lips is, so far as he is concerned, only hearsay knowledge. What is needed is personal knowledge.

According to the *Jnanis*, beings and states of beings complete the range of the knowable. The knower of all these is the soul. It knows some of them through the senses, and some through the mind which draws inferences; and some it knows directly without the aid of either the senses or the mind. The first and second kinds of knowledge are knowledge of objects of sense, and of mind, and together constitute *worldly* experience; but the third kind of knowledge is knowledge of the soul or spirit and God, and is *spiritual* experience. The *Jnanis* teach that the sensible and thinkable things are all of nature (*prakriti*) or "flesh" or cosmic stuff, but that God, who is the evolver of nature, mental and material, is not graspable by the senses or mind, but knowable only by the Soul, which is itself spirit, like God. Their expressive saying is, God is *vedyam* (Bhag. Gita, xi:17) the knowable, but *avanmanasa gocaram*, inexpressible and unthinkable. Just as the milk of the cow, which pervades her lymphatic system, is drawable only at the teat, *Jnanis* say that God, who is Spirit, Love, and Light, though existent everywhere, is knowable only in that part of his temple called the Spirit or Soul; that souls in bondage to Folly or Corruption (*Avidya*) are like pure water mixed with ink, unable to see itself as something different from the corruption it is in; that the Soul is the being which

loves and knows; and Folly the false being which hates and works lawless deeds through the instruments of the Soul, namely, the mind, the senses, and the faculties of speech and action: and that if measures be taken to *separate* the Soul from Folly, the Soul will first know itself and then God who is in it. Knowledge of God is impossible till the Soul *renounces* all its impurities and stands in the likeness or "Image" of God fit for fellowship with God. The Doctrine of Renunciation, and the practices necessary for *forsaking* corruption, form the sum and substance of the teaching of the *Jnanis*. This work of renunciation of impurity on the part of the disciple must be carried on from day to day, it may be for years together, before God manifests Himself to the seeking Soul.

When it awakens to a sense of its bondage to corruption and gradually releases itself from its carnal attachments, it is said to "ascend" towards God, who is in the soul.³ That part of the Vedas which is called *Upanishad* treats of this "ascent" or "rise" from corruption to incorruption. "He who in perfect rest *ris*es from worldly attachments and attains the highest light, comes forth in his own proper form. This is the immortal soul" (*Maitr. Brah Up*, 11-12) Numberless are the books written by *Jnanis* to expound this doctrine of Godliness (*Brahmi sthiti*) contained in the Vedas and Agamas. The oldest of these books are in Sanskrit and Tamil. Some in Sanskrit are known to Western scholars but not any in Tamil. Their works in Tamil deserve to be studied, especially those in the form of hymns. One

3 Cf. "என் உளமே புகுந்த அதனால்"

of the ancient psalms of Manikka-vasakar, daily chanted by hundreds of thousands of Tamils in South India and Ceylon, is as follows:-

“O Siva, abiding in the limitless region of holiness who, darkness dispelled, has granted me grace this day ;

To abate thoughts, I thought of Thy way of *rising* from the bosom of the soul in the glory of the sun;

I thought of the non-existence of everything but Thyself;

I thought of Thee and Thee only, —having worn off thought, atom by atom, and drawing closer for union with Thee as one;

Nothing art Thou, yet nothing is without Thee.

Who, then, can think of Thee ?”

—*Tiruvasakam, Koyil Tiruppadikam, 7*

God as Absolute Being, or Being Unconditioned by quality or quantity, is indeed unthinkable, nor is he to be perceived by the senses, as Immaculate, Infinite Spirit, but yet, as such, he is knowable. He is to be known by the soul only when the mind runs down to a calm and lies quite still. When in spiritual communion thoughts are wholly abated and sleep does not intervene, the soul stands by itself like a steady flame, unobscured by sleep and unagitated by thought. In this state of isolation or aloneness, called *kaivalya*, the soul knows itself and God who is in it. The gradual elimination of thought “atom by atom”, as the Master

quoted above says, draws the soul out from the dust heap of thought and enables it to see itself more and more, till at length, when the last trace of thought is "worn off," the soul appears, as declared in the Maitrayana Upanishad, in its "own proper form" as Unconditioned Being, in unspeakable repose. This is called by the *Agamic Jnanis atma-darsana*, or knowledge of the soul, corresponding to the "manifestation" or "appearance"⁴ of Christ within man (John xiv: 21; Matt. xxiv: 30). Then is realised *Siva-darsana*, or knowledge of God, who manifests himself only within the Spirit though He pervades all the Universe. This is "His way," His usual method, of manifesting Himself to those men who worship Him spiritually, "in truth and in spirit" as Jesus said. The *Vedanta Jnanis* speak of these two experiences as *Vikalpa Samadhi* and *Nirvikalpa Samadhi*.

Just as the soul enshrined in the body "rises" from the body, God enshrined in the Soul "rises" from the Soul. These are the two *fundamental experiences* of human nature, the one leading necessarily to the other; and this is the goal of life—the knowledge of God. After attaining it, there is nothing more to attain here or elsewhere. Progress with all its toils ends. The long sought for Rest has come. No longer do pure and impure thoughts strive against each other for mastery; no longer do kind and unkind words flow alternately from the lips; no longer does the flesh strive against the Spirit, nor the Spirit against the flesh. Differentiation between oneself and others has ceased. Peace reigns. In the

4. Cf. "உள்ளத்து எழுகின்ற ஞாயிறே"

consuming fire of Truth '*Jnanagni*', all the beggarly elements of egotism and desire have been burnt, and infinite Bliss (*ananda*) survives, bearing witness to the Godly nature of man's consciousness (*atma*).

Thou art the indestructible Bliss, which appears the instant all the world (*Jagat*) of thought and the senses, like nuggets of gold, is dissolved into an ocean without waves or current.

To this day I have not thus realised Thee!

Can I attain this happiness by only singing Thy praises in verse?

When, O Lord, wilt Thou establish me in the region of holiness and grant me, a sinner, the bliss of the state resulting from non-differentiation?

—Tayumanavar, *Panmalai*, 9.

The "dissolution" of the "world" (*Jagat*), which occurs to each man as soon as his mind ceases to differentiate, —as soon as all thoughts have run down to a perfect calm, —is also known as the "death" of the much mistaken *Jiva-shankara* (or worldly spirit) which veils the true Ego (*parama-shankara*), which alone knows itself and is the basis of all knowledge, temporal and spiritual.⁵ Another great Sage of South India, who lived about two thousand years ago, and whose psalms are on the lips of every cultured Tamil of the present day, well said,

5. Cf. "மண்பா தலம்புக்கு மால்கடல்

முடிமற்றேழுலகும் விண்பால் திசைகெட் டிரு
சுடர் விழிநில அஞ்சல் நெஞ்சே" அப்பர்,
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I became like the dead :
 Of all thought was I void :
 None but I remained :
 I knew no further change.

— Venkadar, *Arut pulambal*, 49.

The Master means to say that when the *Jiva-ahankara* (or worldly-minded I) dissolved itself by non-differentiation, the *parama -ahankara* (or Divine I) stood forth unchangeable liberated from nescience or worldliness, and hence known as *Jivanmukta*. Another Sage sang as follows, —

My heart has hardly throbbed for thee ;
 But little have my thoughts dissolved ;
 Divorced I am not from the body, so hard to
 separate.
 I have not died : I am still in a whirl.

The “I” that ought to die is the earth-bound or worldly I, that knows not its true status and is therefore led captive by worldly thoughts. The true Ego (or *Atma*) can never die It is eternal.

The death of the worldly or sinning I (*Jiva-ahankara*) is the “crucifixion” of the sinner, — the “old Adam.”⁶ When old Adam is crucified, the heaven-born Adam, the Son of God, the true Ego (*parama-ahankara*) appears (I Cor xv: 45, 47).

The words ‘world’ (*Jagat*) and “worldly I” denote differentiated existence. The sum of human affairs and interests, or, in a restricted sense, that portion of them

which is known to any one, is popularly understood to be the "world", which in truth consists of names and forms only; and worldly I exists only when one is conscious of differentiated names and forms, that is, of thoughts. The "end or dissolution of the world" (*nama rupa-nasa*) is thus another expression for the "death" of the worldly I. The "world" dissolving or ending is the same as the worldly I "dying;" and the "death" of the "worldly I" is the same as the "end" of the "world." These expressions denote cessation from, differentiation in spiritual communion. When sitting for worship one is alive to the reports of the senses or is thinking of the things of flesh or worldly life, he is in the state of differentiation, which is the opposite of Unification, or Peace, or Rest.

The "world," in the language of Sages, means everything except pure consciousness; means not only the material universe, but also mind and its products called thoughts, and the senses and objects perceived by them. And God, as Being True or Unchangeable, and the Being who pervades this everchanging and therefore untrue "world," cannot be *found* in the face of the world. Since He is its substrate He will not reveal Himself, in His own true character as Absolute Being, if looked for in the "world." We'll has a Master sung, —

- Thou who in all things dost vibrate !
- Thou stainless consumer and container of the World !
- Thou king of the celestial hosts !
- Thou the only one without second !

Though, appealing to Thee aloud. I have sought for
Thee throughout the world (*loka*),

Yet I have not found Thee there.

—Tiruvasakam, *Arutpattu*, 2.

In His own true nature, as He was before the beginning of the "world," and will be after its end, He is to be "seen" (that is, known) only where the "world" is not, that is, only in the reign of pure consciousness. Therefore the Master, who declared that God was *not* to be found in the "world," proclaimed also that he *found* Him elsewhere, in "resplendent Tillai" or the region of pure consciousness or *atma*.⁷

I found Thee, immaculate and blissful, in resplendent Tillai,

Having overcome the darkness of desire,

The perception of forms, and the thoughts of "I" and "Mine;"

I, who had been drawn into the vortex of caste, family and birth, who was worse than a helpless dog;—

I saw Thee, who had cut away my bonds of misery and held me to Thy service.

—*ib. Kandapattu*, 5. (The ten hymns attesting knowledge.)

7. Atma here means Paramaatma.

Cf "எங்கும் திருமேனி எங்கும் சிவசக்தி
எங்கும் சிதம்பரம் எங்கும் திருநட்டம்
எங்கும் சிவமா யிருத்தலால் எங்கெங்கும்
தங்கும் சிவனருள் தன்வினை யாட்டதே."

The immaculate and formless being of the Deity "seen" beyond the veil of thought, in the region of pure consciousness, is His unthinkable form, *nishkala svarupa*. His *sakala svarupa* or thought-form, assumed for purposes of grace, is according to the *form in which He has been thought of* by the earnest devotee.

The separation of the soul from thought and sense impression is known in spiritual communion as separation from the *body* or the *flesh*, as attested by the words of the great Sendanar :

Meditating on the peerless ways in which He led me captive.

Having separated me from the *Body*

Which knows not what it is to be established;

Meditating also on the gracious manner in which He cherishes the faithful ;

Let me sing in praise of Him only who took me unto Himself, etc.

—Sendanar, *Tiru-pallandu*, 3.

Another Master sings, —

Hear, O Bird, dwelling in groves laden with luscious fruit!

Raise thy notes to the Giver of all things,

Who, spurning the celestial regions, appeared on earth for the purpose of claiming man as His subject.

Pray that the King may come, who spurning the
the *fresh* entered my soul, made it like Himself
and stood forth the only One.

—Tiruvasakam, *Kuyilpattu*, 4.

"The flesh" or "body" includes not only the tangible body (*sthula sarira*), but also the subtle body (*sukshma sarira*), consisting of those invisible instruments of knowledge and action which are found to function in various parts of the tangible body. The complete "spurning of the flesh," therefore, means complete isolation from the flesh, which state is also spoken of as being wholly "dead to the world" (of thought and the senses). When this occurs, the soul becomes *nishkala*, immaculate (unspotted by the least rudiments of the flesh), godlike. Drawing the soul from the mind-sheath (*kosha*) or womb (*garbha*) in which it has been encased, God "frees" or "separates" it from its carnal bonds and causes it to be "as Himself." Compare the words of St. Paul, "When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, to reveal the Son in me," etc., Gal. i: 15. This separation from the limitations of the mind is essential to the spiritual birth of the Son or Soul (*atma*). Then only does He, who from eternity lay hidden in the Soul, become manifest; and manifested, He absorbs the soul by His sun-like glory and remains "the Only One."

All the doctrines and practices which are calculated to lead to the knowledge of the soul, and through that knowledge to the knowledge of God, are locked up in the mystic formula *atmanam atmaya pasya* (know the

soul through the soul)⁸, which in the language of Jesus is represented by the expression, "I (the Spirit) bear witness of myself (the Spirit)" (John viii: 18.)

It is necessary to try and understand in modern modes of thought the truths that lie embedded in these most holy formulas. In the darkness of deep sleep Consciousness is so obscured that it knows nothing, not even its own existence. When it first awakes it knows nothing in particular till a vague desire to know arises within it, and sets the mind to think, or the senses to perceive, something. Then begins a knowledge of some definite thing. But so rapidly do the senses strike on the Consciousness, and so constantly do thoughts present themselves from the moment it wakes to the moment it falls asleep, that Consciousness is "deceived with the blar illusion" that it is identical with the body. The truth, however, as experienced by *Jnanis* is that Consciousness (or the Knower, or the Soul) is wholly distinct from the mind (which thinks) and the senses, just as the latter are distinct from the body. "Separate from the mind and the senses, yet reflecting the qualities of all of them, the *atma* (soul) is the Lord and Ruler of all" (*Svetasvatara Upanishad*, iii: 17). Consciousness or the Soul knows the senses and the mind, but they are not subtle enough to know the Soul, their "Lord and Ruler." It knows itself. Nothing else can know it. Hence the mandate, "know the soul through the soul." The soul is a witness (*sakshi*) unto itself. The mind (including the reason) and the senses,

8. "அவனானான்" அவன்கள் வணங்கி

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being constructed of cosmic stuff or "flesh," cannot know the soul !

It is difficult to establish these truths by reasoning, for the basis of reasoning is comparison of one thing with another and drawing inferences therefrom, and there is nothing in the world without us which may be compared with the soul within. The only *proof* possible in these circumstances is an appeal to the *spiritual experience* or actual knowledge of the Spirit of the class of people called *Jnanis*. Their experience declares (1) that the body is the tabernacle of the Soul and its instruments; (2) that the mind (or the subtle organs of thought) and the senses are the instruments of the Soul, whereby the Soul is brought into relation with the objective world; (3) that the mind is not subtle enough to know the Soul; (4) that the Soul may be freed from its primeval taint⁹ of evil or worldliness; (5) that when freed from evil or worldliness the soul knows itself as naturally as the bound soul knows the mind and the world without; and (6) that peace (or infinite love, irrespective of objects of love) and knowledge of (or power of knowing, irrespective of objects of knowledge) are the fundamental features of the freed soul.

How few among us recognise even the first named of these truths! Metaphysicians of repute have argued that the mind, so far from using the body as its instrument, is only a property, power, or function of the body. Professor Bain, desiring to follow a middle course, defines man to be "an extended and material

mass, attached to which is the power of becoming alive to feeling and thought, the extreme remove from all that is material" (*Mind and Body*, p. 137); and observes that the contention that the mind uses the body as its instrument "assumes for mind a separate existence, a power of living apart, an option of working with or without a body. Actuated by the desire of making itself known, and of playing a part in the sphere of matter, the mind uses its bodily ally to gratify this desire; but if it chose to be self-contained, to live satisfied with its own contemplations, like the gods as conceived by Aristotle, it need not enter into cooperation with any physical process, with brain, senses, or muscular organs. I will not reiterate the groundlessness of this supposition. The physical alliance is the very law of our mental being; it is not contrived purely for the purpose of making our mental states known; without it we should not have mental states at all" (ib., p. 132).

The learned Professor's criticisms abound with difficulties of his own creation, which however do not affect the truths of spiritual experience. By the light of this experience, the Soul (or the I that knows) is found to be very different from the mind whose function is to think. It will be readily admitted that it is not the senses (*Jnanendriyas*) but the internal faculties of thought (*antahkaranas*) that think. The *Jnanis* declare that the invisible organ of thought and the other invisible organs of breath, nutrition, and action, which in co-relation form the subtle body (*sukshma sarira*) of the soul and function in different parts of the tangible body, are in the nature of a

- covering or sheath (*kosha*) of the soul, being "bound" to it by the "worldliness" or folly inherent in the soul (*Jivatma*). From olden times, they say, the soul (*Jivatma*) was permeated with this feeling of want and craving and lay in a stifled condition. For the merciful purpose of liberating the soul from this pitifully obscured condition, God evolved the world out of worldly rudiments and endowed the soul, firstly, with the "mind-and-breath mechanism" called the subtle body, and secondly, with the tangible body as the mud-home of the subtle body, and so brought it into relation with the outer world. The craving or greed for gratification thus became (through the "subtle body") the desires of touch, taste, hearing, sight, and smell, and the desires of the intellect. The mind-and-breath organism has, therefore, been called a "lamp," or instrument of illumination to the obscured soul. When the light of true knowledge, let into the soul through the channels of the mind and the senses, dispels by degrees the density of the worldly taint or ignorance inherent in the soul, the mind and the senses find less and less enjoyment in the field of carnality. It is within our every-day experience that, with the gradual decline of desire for anything, our thoughts on that subject become fewer and less active, and it is only natural that when all desires are eschewed, thoughts should run down to a complete calm. This truth is expressed in the formula *nirasa* (or *non desire*) is *samadhi* (peace). All "enlightened" men, that is men consciously admitting light and thus actively wearing off, atom by atom, the density of their cravings, are on the high road to *samadhi*. They are destined to speedily enter the spiritual kingdom, the holy and blissful region of pure consciousness.

The converse proposition, that the practice of the art of pacifying thoughts leads to attainment of *nirasa*, that is, emancipation from desire, is found to be equally true. Without tarrying on this part of the subject it is needful only to say that, as the effacement of all desire causes thought to disappear, leaving the soul serene and limitlessly conscious, Mr. Bain's question whether the mind may have a separate existence, and in that state of independence possess an option of working with or without the body, admits of a ready answer. If all desires have been permanently expunged from the soul, the mind becomes quite inactive and has no power over the body.

Such a contingency occurs only in the case of that class of *Jnanis* known as *Brahma-varishta*, who by unceasing spiritual communion have isolated themselves from desire so completely that it never rises from the expanse of consciousness in any form whatever. The only indications that they are not dead are warmth in the body and growth of hair and nails, if clipped. The senses do not perceive, the mind does not think, in this state. Though dead in the worldly sense, they are not dead spiritually. They live on from year to year without food or drink.

A less advanced *Jnani* is the *Brahma Varyan*, in whom desire is not completely annihilated. Therefore he is able to rest in *Samadhi* only for limited periods, emerging therefrom for a short while, during which devotees revive his recollection of earthly affairs and pray for blessings. Granting them, he again relapses into the peaceful state. The late Raja Rajendralala

Mitra, one of the most distinguished sons of India, said that in 1842 he saw a *Jnani* whom some wood-choppers had brought up to Calcutta from the forests of the Sunderbunds. The saint was found sitting cross-legged under a lofty banian tree, amidst a wild profusion of heavy roots, which in course of growth had entwined themselves round his limbs. The "fools and blind" cleared the wood and carried the Sage, dead as he was to the world, to Calcutta, where he was taken possession of by two men even more ignorant than the wood-choppers, for unable to rouse him "by shouting, pushing, and beating, they put fire into his hand and plunged him into deep water in the Ganges with a rope about his neck, as though he were a ship's anchor, and twice kept him there all night. They pried his tetanus jaws apart, put beef into his mouth, and poured brandy down his throat. Finally, to prove their own shamelessness, and to make their memory hateful for ever, this Hindu Raja and this Englishman set upon the poor saint an abandoned creature of the other sex to pollute him with her unholy touch!" (Colonel Olcott's Lecture at the Town Hall of Calcutta in 1882 on "Theosophy, the Scientific Basis of Religion".) At last by violent methods they awoke him, and all he said was,—"O Sirs, why did you disturb me? I have done you no harm." Shortly after, he attained *Videha Mukti* or liberation from the *sthula* and *sukshma* bodies.

A third class of *Jnanis* is represented by the *Brahma Varan*, who suspends mind and breath for a few days at a time, returning to the ways of life readily at the close of the *Samadhi*.

By far the largest number of *Jnanis*, however, belong to the class of the *Brahma Vid*, who isolates himself

only for a few hours each day, not necessarily every day. These are the saints who are most useful to the world, because all their thoughts run with amazing fruitfulness in the groove of *paropakaram* or service to others. Jesus is a brilliant example of this type, for in addition to knowledge of God, he possessed *siddhis* (or spiritual powers) of a very high order. When drawn too much into the vortex of worldly life he sought solitude for the purpose of reestablishing himself in the fulness of peace. He went up into a mountain apart to pray..... He was there alone" (Matt. xiv : 23) is often said of Jesus. He is also said to have been fast asleep on board a ship when a great storm was blowing and covering the craft with tremendous waves Matt. viii : 24). Even a drunken man would have returned to his sober senses in such rolling and pitching, creaking and roaring, "but Jesus was asleep" He was really in *Samadhi*, "dead to the world" of thought and the senses. His disciples were able to move him out of that peaceful state, only because his desires, still lurking in the soul, stirred and set the mind-and-breath mechanism in motion, as demonstrated in the case of the ill-treated saint of the Sunderbunds. It is a truth worth realising that even the best of desires are, in comparison to Peace, a burden. The blissfulness of Rest is infinitely superior to un-rest, however refined. Rest is absolutely good, and all forms of Un-rest, from the highest, are bad *in relation* to Rest. Therefore did Jesus say on a memorable occasion, feeling the desecration of un-rest, "Why callest thou me good? There is no one good but one, that is God" (Matt, xix : 16). Therefore also do men who have tasted of that Rest feel ever inclined to go back to it, as to a haven, from

the agitations of thought, the troubles and turmoils of life, and to stand alone quite isolated from all that is worldly.

This "alone becoming" of the soul, known in India as *Kaivalya*, is what is indicated by the Greek phrase *monogenes huios* in John i : 18, rendered inappropriately in English as "the only-begotten son." How can Jesus Christ be considered the only son of God, when he himself taught the doctrine that others also could be as perfect as God in love (Matt. v : 48), and as gifted as himself in miraculous powers (ib. xvii : 20). It will also be borne in mind that St. Paul said that it was possible for all men by due culture to attain the fulness of Christ. (Eph iv : 13). Nor must it be forgotten that Jesus took pains to expose the popular fallacy that Christ was the son of David (Matt. xxii : 42). "What think ye of Christ?" he asked of the Pharisees. They said, "He is the son of David." If he be the son of David, said Jesus, how is it that David addresses him as Lord in Ps. cxi ? Is it customary for a father to call his son Lord ? They answered not a word, and verse 46 records "neither durst any man from that day forward ask him any more questions." Jesus meant to say that, though flesh was necessary to produce flesh, Christ was not flesh, and Christ, being pure Spirit, did not need a fleshly father like David to beget him. He expressly said that Christ was "before Abraham" (John viii : 58), who lived many centuries before David. Christ is the Soul that has been freed from its bondage to worldliness, and blessed with the knowledge of God. "Truth (or grace of God) shall

make you free," said Jesus (John viii : 32). "Sanctify them through thy Truth," he cried (John xvii : 17), even as he himself was sanctified (John x : 36). To stand alone, quite isolated from all that is worldly, is *Santi* in Sanskrft, from which Sanctification comes.

The experiences of *Jnanis* of the different degrees of Rest or "death unto the world," as above described, ought to make it clear to "learned philosophers" that the mind and the senses are but instruments of the soul, and that, if desire were wholly eliminated from the soul, the mind and the sense organs would fall prostrate on the bosom of the soul, even as a spinning top falls on the ground as soon as its force is exhausted. This is one of the most certain facts known in *Samadhi*,

When the mind, ceasing to whirl, falls like a top
which has spent its force, —

Just then, the gloom of ignorance dispelled,

Did I know myself, independent, like unto space,
devoid of light and shade?

Did I then, joining myself with the Infinite Peace
which lies within me, pass into the trans-
cendingly blissful state?

—Tayumanavar, *Tejomayanandam*, 4.

A few more words may be added in explanation of *atmanam*, *atmana pasya*. We know, as a fact, that we see, hear, touch, taste, and smell; and we know also that we think. The expressions, "I know that I feel," "I know that I desire," "I know that I think," mean only that one is conscious of those states of being.—

-namely, the states of feeling, of desiring, of thinking. *Consciousness*, therefore, is the *Be-ing which knows*, and must not be confounded with the states or sensibilities induced in consciousness through the excitation of the senses and thoughts. When such sensibilities are discarded what remains is consciousness pure, which soon overflows in all directions, boundlessly, like the rays of the sun through space. This experience is known as *atma purana*, meaning literally, in the words of St. Paul, the fulness of the spirit. This is the liberated soul (*atma* in *moksha*), the Be-ing, the "I am," which partakes of the "glory of God : known as *Saccidananda*, that is, *sat*, eternal unchangeable existence; *cit*, pure consciousness, infinitely expanded; *ananda*, bliss or absolute peace. In plain words when consciousness is purified to the requisite degree, it is found as matter of fact (1) to survive all phenomena and remain unchangeable; (2) to possess the knowledge that is not limited by time or place; and (3) to overflow with an unspeakable repose and love for all living beings, the like of which is unknown in any other state.

European science admits the world of the senses (the "sensible" world, as it is called), and the world of thought (the "extra-sensible" world), and is quite familiar with their laws and conditions; but it refuses to acknowledge the world—I would rather say, the region—of pure consciousness (the "supra-sensible" world). "We cannot say," wrote the late Mr G. H. Lewes, "that a supra-sensible world is impossible; we can only say that, if it exists, it is to us inaccessible" (*Problems of Life and Mind*, Vol. I, p. 270.) And Professor Bain declares that in the senses and thoughts

"we have an alphabet of the knowable...but we cannot by any effort pass out of the compass of the primitive sensibilities" (Sec. 19 of the chapter on the Physiological Data of Logic). The denial of the region of pure consciousness the (*Jnana Bhumi*), because of its fancied inaccessibility to experience, is a notoriously false argument. Mr. Lewes himself having pointed out elsewhere that, "before a fact could be discredited by its variance from one's notion, the absolute accuracy of the notion itself needed demonstration" (*Problems, etc.* i: 353).

No further emphasis is now required to bring home the fact that the existence of the region of pure consciousness is not a matter of theory or speculation. This state of "godliness" is indeed a 'mystery' (as attested by St Paul In I Tim. iii: 16), in the sense of being beyond human comprehension *until it is explained and realised*. It is within the actual experience (*Svanubhava*) of *Jnanis*, and is known to them as *Brahmi sthiti*, or *Siva-loka*, or *chitambara*, or *chitakasa*, the blessed state, the spiritual kingdom,¹⁰ the Kingdom of God, the reign of infinite consciousness or light. It is the most real of all regions, because when it is reached it is found to be further irresolvable, hence unchangeable, that is, everlasting. It is, moreover, strictly verifiable in experience that is, attainable by others, provided that by native disposition and previous culture, one is sympathetic enough to persevere in all earnestness and faith in the way marked by the Master.

When this state is attained, then will be realised in actual experience the truth that God is in the soul.

Upon this spiritual experience is founded the doctrine of "God in me, and I in God"

Both the *Vedas* and *Agamas* teach this doctrine in those parts of them which are called *Jnana Khanda* (the section that relates to spiritual enlightenment).

The *Agamas* are a graduated elaboration of the four *Vedas* and are known as the fifth *Veda*. The final or eternal truths relating to God having been revealed to the *Jnanis* the way of attaining God has been worked out in the *Agamas* under four principal stages known as *charya* (good conduct), *kriya* (symbolical worship), *yoga* (subjective union through sense control, breath control, and thought control), and *Jnana* (hearing and understanding the principles of eternal life). The *charya* stage is called *san-marga*, or the good way of lawful or ethical conduct, in which God is distantly or vaguely conceived; the *kriya* stage is *dasa marga*, or the way of the servant, in which God is conceived as Master or King; the *yoga* stage is *putra marga*, or the way of the son, in which God is viewed as Father; and the *jnana* stage is *saha marga*, or the way of the friend and equal, in which Soul is considered to be striving for fellowship with God.

The final or eternal truths are known in the *Vedas* as *Vedanta* and in the *Agamas* as *Saiva Siddhanta*, and the entire graduated way is known as *soupana marga* (ladder way, or path of ascent).

Agreeably to the needs and capacities of each people, have *Religions or Bonds of Spiritual Thought*

been given them, marked by some one or more of the features of the stages above named. Some religions do not carry their votaries beyond the stage of ethical conduct; others not beyond ritual worship; very few teach subjective union; and only one at the present day is able to impart a full knowledge of those principles and practices which result in the actual attainment of God. As spiritual thought gets mixed with error in the progress of years, owing to the imperfections of the minds of those who receive and give out such thought, religions become materialised and intolerant of each other. Hence come diversities and conflicts. Such religions perish with the people who have perverted the original germs of truth.

It matters not in what land or sphere of society a man is born if in humble spirit he acts up to the faith he was born in. In due time he will be moved to a higher form of faith, and so onward from one life to another, till all his thoughts get centred in God. Life and death are like waking and sleeping. As the same being that is awake sleeps and wakes again, so he that lives dies, to live again on earth till full knowledge of God is attained.



II Siva Bhakti

[The following essay formed part of a thesis written by Nicol Macnicol for the the Degree of Doctor of Letters of the University of Glasgow. The enlarged version of that thesis appeared in the form of a book entitled "Indian Thesism From The Vedic To The Muhammadan Period" in 1915. The author would have revised his work thoroughly if he had had the opportunity of perusing R. G. Bhandarkar's Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems (1913). In fact the author had expressed his regret for not having done so. Even in 1913, Nicol Macnicol had sent his work to the press.

The author had endeavoured to grasp the tenets of Saivism. He could have succeeded substantially if only he had shed his prejudices. The work is therefore marred by errors and mistinterpretations. These notwithstanding, the work is not without its value.

Nicol Macnicol, the author of a number of treatises on Hinduism, was a Protestant Missionary. Ed.]

.Of all the deities of the Hindu pantheon, Siva seems the one least likely to attract a theistic devotion. A large portion of the materials that have gone to his making has its source in the darkest fears and superstitions of the savage. The fact that even about this ghoulish god, more devil than deity, who battens upon corpses, and smears himself with ashes from the burning-ground, has gathered a gracious affection that has been able to remould an object so repulsive nearer to its heart's desire, is in itself a remarkable testimony to the strength in the Indian peoples of the theistic instinct. That Vishnu and Krishna have attracted to themselves a spiritual worship, and that they have been the

means of awakening such a worship in those who gather to their temples, does not seem so surprising. There is comparatively little to repel in them. They were bright gods, gods of light and life and hope, deliverers, if not yet fully moralized, yet capable of moralization. But the human spirit has surely seldom found material harder to subdue to its purpose of devotion than was Siva. It is one of the most amazing facts in Indian religion—a religion full of strangeness—that out of the dry ground of Saivism has sprung a root that has borne the blossom of the devotion of the South Indian Saivite saints. Though Theism in India has in the end proved so ineffectual, though adverse influences in soil and spiritual climate have rendered it on the whole an abortive growth, yet, with the evidence of its transforming power that these poet saints afford us, we cannot question its depth and its reality within the Indian spirit, nor refuse to hope for it, under more favourable circumstances, results greater and more enduring.

There can be no question that Siva is in the main not Aryan but aboriginal. That name is nowhere a proper name in the *Rig* or the *Atharva Veda*, but is applied as an epithet, 'the auspicious'—to Rudra, the nearest of kin to him among the Vedic deities. From this god of the storm Siva inherited many characteristics which helped to exalt the malignant demon to something less unworthy of an Aryan's worship.¹ The adoption of this euphemistic name is itself an indication of an attempt

1 With the development of the Rudra-Siva god-idea compare the development of Enlil in Babylonian religion, Jastrow's *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 68 ff.

to civilize a deity always terrible, but not always worthy of reverence. His aboriginal name may have been Bhairava 'the fearful' or some similar designation. Siva, as a matter of fact, like most of the Indian gods, is a very composite product, but one which more than most is made up of widely diverse, and even irreconcilable elements. It need not indeed, surprise us greatly to find that pantheistic speculation was able to make use of this deity even more, perhaps than of Vishnu as the symbol of the ultimate *Brahman*. Moral attributes, or the lack of them, in its god, mattered neither more nor less to a doctrine in which the god was after all only a label and a superfluity. Siva by his very force and fury was fitted, not inaptly, to represent that power in the universe which causelessly destroys and causelessly creates. When the conflict arose in South India between Buddhists and Jains, on the one hand, and the adherents of Siva, on the other, the arguments against the existence of this god that the unbelievers urged were much the same as those which, when we consider the character attributed to him, appear to us to-day so powerful. The Jains and Buddhists represent the claims of the moral sense, and they ask, 'How can this demon be the life of the soul of all?'¹ But these arguments made little impression on the Saivite philosophers. Their doctrine, as we find it in the polemic carried on in the South against those opposing systems, was a philosophy closely approximating to the Advaita Vedanta, and in consequence those objections carried little weight which were based upon the character of a deity that was to them secondary and, indeed, superfluous. After all, Siva was like enough to the wild moods and unmoral

activities of nature. It may quite possibly be the case that Sankaracarya belonged, as is alleged, to this sect. To the schools of the philosophers Siva was as good a name for an otiose deity, as good a label for the deceiving world processes as any other.

It is far more surprising to find the name of Siva, even in the period of the Upanisads, associated with other and more ethical streams of tendency. We have already seen how theistic currents that we discover moving with scanty and uncertain flow through the speculations and intuitions of these books precipitate themselves at last in richer volume into the religion of the *Bagavadgita*. There these doctrines gather about the names of Vishnu and of Krishna. A similar place to that of the *Gita* in Vaishnavism is held in Saivism by the *Svetasvatara Upanisad*. In this Upanisad along with much that, just as in the *Gita*, seems irreconcilable with an ethical Theism, there are certain elements which indicate that the influences at work in that direction in Vaishnavism were not absent from the doctrine and the worship of the rival cult. If we find in this Upanisad the names *maya* and *mayin* they have not yet their Advaita significance.¹ Always in Saivism, even more than in Vaishnavism, there is implied a sense of the world's unreality in comparison with the reality of spirit, a feeling which is indeed, universal in Indian thought — while at the same time to a still greater degree there is implied a sense of the divine transcendence. Already, indeed, in the *Rig Veda*, Rudra is the 'great Asura

of heaven,² and, as such, he is the 'possessor of occult power' (*maya*)³ In the *Svetasvatara* he has definitely assigned to him the role, which, in later times, was generally associated with the name of Siva, of the deity of agnosticism. 'No one has grasped him above or across, or in the middle. There is no image of him whose name is Great Glory.'⁴ This, as well as other things in this Upanisad, reminds us of the attitude of Buddhism. As in the case of Buddhism the state of deliverance, 'when the light has risen', is a state alike 'beyond existence and non-existence'.⁵ At the same time the theistic note is distinctly struck in the designation of the all-pervading Atman as not only Siva, but Bhagavat,⁶ and in the emphasis that is placed, on the one hand, upon his perception by the heart as well as by the mind,⁷ and on the other, upon man's need, if he would perceive him, of the grace of the Creator⁸. But especially significant is the explicit declaration in the final verse of this Upanisad that, in order that the truths there enunciated may 'shine forth indeed', they must be told 'to a high-minded man who feels the highest devotion (*bhakti*) for his *guru* as for God'⁹. Here for the first time in connexion with Saivism the claims of *bhakti*—and implicitly the claims of theistic religion — are authoritatively affirmed. However indistinguishable in its phraseology the teaching of this Upanisad may seem at times to be from that of those that

2. *R. V.* II. 1.6.

3. Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 156.

4. *Svet. Up.* IV. 19

5. *Ibid.*, IV. 18

6. *Ibid.*, III. 11

7. *Ibid.*, III. 13 ; IV. 20.

8. *Ibid.*, III. 20

9. *Ibid.* VI. 23

present a pure Advaita doctrine, this affirmation definitely demonstrates that its face is turned to another direction. We may not have here the fully articulated *bhakti* of the later theologians, but we have enough to indicate that the supreme spirit is for it a personal Being who wins the worship of the heart. ¹ This Upanisad, it is true, like the *Gita*, speaks with a double tongue, and its philosophy is really at variance with its religion ; but, with whatever inconsistency, the glow of the heart which it demands of the disciple, and which it prescribes as necessary for his attainment of immortality, proclaims it as a theistic scripture.

In the *Mahabharata* there is little to indicate the place that Siva was to obtain in the worship of South Indian saints of a later day. We find his name extolled by the sectary in opposition to that of Vishnu ; we find him claimed as the manifestation of the All-god, in echo of a like claim made by the adherents of the rival deity. But there is little that is of religious value or interest in such conflicts of the sects. These things are the doings of the priest or of the philosopher, and may have little enough of faith behind them. Two passages of the Epic may, however, be referred to as indicating the character of Siva-worship in its more inward aspect, apart from its more philosophic doctrines on the one hand, and its orgiastic ritual on the other. In one passage Siva, in agreement with the view suggested already in the *Svetasvatara*, and referred to above, is described as the inconceivable one, who is 'beyond the comprehension of all gods'. ² The fact that this agnostic attitude has

1. S. B. E. XV, p. xxxiv.

2. *Mbh.* VII. 202: 79, 71.

persisted down to modern times among the worshippers of Siva is indicated by the existence of those Saivite sects that are called Alakhnamis or Alakhgirs, as those who 'call upon the name of the Unseeable'.¹ Such a conception would at once help to exalt the god, and at the same time would hinder the development of his worship into a truly ethical Theism. It would be easier to associate so vague a deity with the Advaita doctrine, as indeed Siva frequently was associated, than with a worship which requires love and obedience. To love God and to trust Him it is necessary that one in some measure at least should know Him. Further on, in the same passage of the *Mahabharata*, which designates Siva as the Unknowable his 'form' is said to be the *linga*.² Perhaps the adoption of this symbol, which may be much more ancient than this passage for a god of whom 'there is no image'³ may have been due to an attempt to express the inexpressible. Repulsive as the phallic emblem may appear to us, and as it no doubt was in its religious origin, it is possible that we have it here made use of as the medium of a protest—which we see later repeating itself in the case of the Lingayats against idolatry.⁴ But the half may prove the enemy of the whole. The symbol was unworthy enough at best, and was too easily adopted as a mere fetish by the ignorant.

1. See E. R. E. I, p. 276, s. v. *Alakhnamis*.

2. *Mbh.* VII. 202: 94, 97. 3. *Svet. Up.* IV. 19.

4. Compare the worship of Ashur in Assyrian religion under the form of a winged disk and the advance that this implied towards a more spiritual religion. Jastrow's *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*. pp. 51, 52.

But it was in South India that Saivism entered most fully into its own, and it is there that it has disclosed itself at its best, and also, perhaps, at its worst. That this should be the case is not surprising, if Saivism is the most largely aboriginal of the Indian cults, since a larger aboriginal element has survived in the South than in any other part of India. The old Dravidian worship, which was probably for the most part offered to demonic powers, was never here completely overthrown. The Aryan victor was, indeed, ultimately vanquished and his bright gods driven from the field by those old deities or demons of the underworld. When Brahmanic influences began to make themselves felt in this part of India it was with the name of Rudra-Siva that this demonolatry could most easily be assimilated. If the conjecture that the Heracles of Megasthenes was, not Krishna, as has been generally supposed, but Siva, be well founded, then it would appear that already in the fourth century B. C. this religion was established throughout South India. It is possible that we have in the same connexion an indication that the Pandyan dynasty was originally Saivite, as certainly the Chola dynasty was at a later date. In the third century B. C. Buddhism was also introduced by Buddhist missionaries, while Jainism appears early in the Christian era already widely spread throughout the South, and later numbered the Pandya kings among its adherents. By the seventh century A. D., when Hiuen Tsang travelled in India, Buddhism was rapidly disappearing, while Saivism, and especially Jainism, were the popular faiths in this region. In the struggle for predominance between these rivals, which continued for several centuries, the victory rested with Saivism. It was, in fact, a conflict

between the religious and the non-religious spirit, and, however able and erudite the Jain champions might be, the strength of religion in the Hindu heart was too great for them. Whether it was Vaishnavism, now also established among the South Indian cults, or Saivism, that championed the cause of faith, the wordly wisdom of the Jain was sure to be ultimately worsted. This was made the more certain in the case of Saivism by two reinforcements that came to it, and strengthened it in different and complementary ways. These were, on the one hand, the formulation of its doctrines in the system of the Saiva Siddhanta, and, on the other, a great revival of devotion within its borders due to a remarkable group of saints and apostles.

At times of controversy, especially, it is a great strength to any faith to have the support of an articulated system. It is then able, in opposition to its rivals, to appeal to reason. A philosophy or a formulated theology brings along with it to any religion an immense enhancement of prestige. Its emergence generally implies besides that the cult in question, which may have begun as a movement in the hearts of the common people, perhaps as an effort of revolt from the established Church, has now won a place among the more cautious and the more reflective. Saivism, indeed, as the existence of the *Svetasvatara* reminds us, had long ago found an entrance among the thinkers. But that was in more northern regions. In South India it had to begin anew from the beginning—purifying itself as best it might from gross superstition, building itself up to better things upon the foundation of a sincere devotion. When it was able to appropriate to itself a doctrinal system it obtained it, in the opinion of some scholars

from Saivite thinkers whose home was in the far north of India. Just as, later, Ramananda was to bear from the South a torch of devotion that was to spread its heat and light far and wide throughout the North, so it may be that at this earlier period by a gift from the north to the south this debt was by anticipation repaid. It was a different gift—one of the intellect, whereas the other was of the heart—but its effect was similar, for it helped to secure for theistic religion the victory in the struggle with Jainism.

If this view is well founded it was from Kashmir that South Indian Theism received this reinforcement. The links in the connexion of the Saivite theology of that far northern province with the religion that was struggling for its life in the south it is impossible now to discover. The founder of the Kashmir school of Saivism, which, in all probability, owed much to the *Svetasvatara*, is said to have been Vasugupta. Between the ninth and the eleventh centuries of the Christian era various teachers of Saivite doctrine arose, representing, no doubt, different shades of approximation to the orthodox Advaita. Of these one of the most famous is Abhinavagupta, who flourished at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, and whose teaching is said to be 'in all essentials identical with the orthodox Siddhantam of the Dravidian South.'¹ In the opinion of Dr. L. D. Barnett those theological ideas of the north 'following the natural geographical route, filtered down southwards' till they reached Kanara where, thus reinforced, the old Saivite religion rose in revolt against the dominant Jainism, and in the middle of the twelfth century brought its supremacy

to an end. This is supposed to have taken place in the time of Basava, minister about 1160-70 to the Kalachuri king, Bijjala of Kalyanpura. The effect of this revolt was the establishment in Kanara of the Lingayat faith, but the influence of the Kashmir doctrine did not end here. The new energy that it awakened in Saivism in Kanara spread still further south, and produced in the Tamil country that Saiva Siddhanta, which is claimed by Dr. Pope, even as Vaishnavism is claimed by other students, 'as the most elaborate, influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India.' ¹

We need not suppose, even if this very doubtful debt were proved, that this religious philosophy was altogether borrowed from those northern theologians. There are said to have been twenty-eight *Agamas*, which contained the principles of Saivism; ² and if, this tradition is at all reliable, the inference is that, however the Saiva Siddhanta may have been reinforced from the north, it had already arisen independently in the south, and had for some generations been engaging the minds of Dravidian thinkers. Of these *Agamas*, which are said by Manikka-vasagar, who lived in the tenth or eleventh century, to have been caused to appear by the grace of Siva, little or nothing is known. The systematic account of the Saiva Siddhanta, which Meykandar gives in his

1. Pope's *Tiruvvasagam*, p.lxxiv.

2. We need not, however, accept the tradition that the total number of verses in them was 20, 100, 010, 193, 884, 000, as Nija-guna-siva-yogin is said to allege. The *Search after God (Brahma Mimasa)*, p. 10.

*Siva-nana-bodham*¹, composed about the begining of, the thirteenth century, is however, a paraphrase of a dozen Sanskrit stanzas alleged to form part of the *Rauragama*.² From these documents, as well as from the works of Arunandi and Umapati, who belong to the fourteenth century, and from the commentary on the *Brahma Sutras*, by Srikantha, who is said to have been Sri Sankaracarya's 'senior and contemporary',³ we can judge of the theistic character of this doctrine, and how far it was able to free itself from the Advaita influences so strong in the north

Whether in Kashmir, or in the Tamil south, the Saiva system centres round a trinity of names, *Pati*, the Lord, *pasu* the flock, and *pasa*, the bond. These names carry us back to the ancient sources of the religion, reminding us that Rudra in the Vedic Hymns is *pasupati*, and reminding us also of what is of better promise for an ethical Theism that in the same poems Varuna, as the moral Governor, is said to lay fetters (*pasa*) upon the sinner. Siva is the Lord, 'exalted above the Abyss'—that is, above all that partakes of *maya*—and yet 'abiding in all that moves and all that moves not'.⁴ 'That souls may reach his state, his *Sakti* gathers them in. Our Lord is, nevertheless, one and indivisible.'⁵ The Supreme Divinity manifests him-

1. Or *Siva-Jnana-bodha*.

2. L D. Barnett in *Le Museon*, X, p 272.

3. *The Search after God (Brahma Mimamsa)*, p. 24. This is a translation of part of a commentary on Nilkantha's *Bhashya* on the *Vedanta Sutras*.

4. Abhinavagupta's *Paramarthasara*, translated by L. D. Barnett in *J. R. A. S.*, July 1910.

5. Umapati in Pope's *Tiruvasagam*, p. lxxvii.

self and operates in the universe through his energy, which is to Siva as light is to the sun. Thus, as so often in other systems, it is sought by a doctrine of emanation to bridge the gulf between the infinite and the finite. The 'flock' consists of innumerable souls, who are under the bondage of a three-fold fetter — *anavam* or darkness, *maya*, which to the southern Saivite, at least, is generally not illusion but matter, 'the material of all embodiment',¹ and *karma*. 'As an earthen vessel has the potter as its first cause, the clay as its material cause, and as its instrumental cause the potter's staff and wheel, so the universe has *maya* for its material cause, the *sakti* of Siva for its instrumental cause, and the Lord Siva himself as its first cause.'² This Siva is the 'sole, Redeemer of souls'.³ According to the teaching of Abhinavagupta there are three classes of those who have obtained deliverance, the *para muktas*, who are 'assimilated to the supreme Siva', the *apara muktas*, united to him in his manifested phase, and the *jivan muktas*, who are still in the body.⁴ 'Redemption (*moksha*)', says this teacher, 'is the revelation of the powers of Self when the bond of ignorance is burst.' 'There is nothing distinct from the redeemed to which he should offer praise or oblation' 'He worships with the pure substance of reflection on the Self the blessed deity who is the supreme reality.'⁵ In its formulation in the South more emphasis seems to have been laid upon the fact that in the state of emancipation there is 'conscious

1. Pope's *Naladiyar*, chap. xi.

2. Pope's *Tiruvāsagam*, p lxvi.

3. *The Search after God (Brahma Mimamsa)*, p. 4.

4. *Le Muséon*, X, p. 276.

5. *J. R. A. S.*, July 1910.

full enjoyment of Siva's presence'¹ than in the northern doctrine. 'In supreme felicity', says Umapati, 'thou shalt be one with the Lord.' But, he goes on, 'the soul is not merged in the Supreme, for if they become one, both disappear ; if they remain two there is no fruition ; therefore there is union and non-union.'²

The difference between the doctrine of the Kashmir thinkers and that of the Saivite philosophers of the south seems to be similar to that which we find to separate the colder thought of the Upanisads from later theistic speculation. This difference is due in both cases, no doubt, to the atmosphere in which the philosophy took shape. In the midst of the fervour of devotion of the southern saints the speculations of the thinkers found a new warmth and colour. More emphasis was laid on the personality of the Supreme Deity and on the conscious bliss of those who attain to deliverance. This is especially seen in the large place that is given in the southern religion, and in its theology to the thought of the grace of Siva. 'In the Siddhanta', says Dr. Pope, 'very great stress is laid upon the idea that all embodiment, while it is painful and to be got rid of as soon as possible is yet a gracious appointment of Siva, wrought out through *sakti* for the salvation of the human soul, through the destruction of deeds, which are the root of all evil to mankind '³ In this system, as, we have seen, he is elsewhere also, Siva is the Unknowable, 'whom the heavenly ones see not'.⁴ But he manifests himself in his gracious,

1. Pope's *Tiruvāsagam*, p. xlv.

2. Op. cit., p. lvii.

3. Op. cit. p. 254.

4. Umapati in op. cit., p. lxxix.

emancipating *sakti*. Only by the grace of the great *Guru* does the soul see and seeing, 'hide itself in the mystic light of wisdom.' 'The fainting soul will resort to the shadow of Grace of its own accord.'¹ 'To those who draw not nigh, he gives no boon; to those who draw nigh, all good; the great Sankara knows no dislike.'² This doctrine of grace supplies the chief incentive to devotion in this system, and corresponding to it is the response of *bhakti* on the part of the worshipping soul. We have seen that in the *Svetasvatara Upanisad* the attitude of *bhakti* is prescribed as necessary to a right understanding of its teaching, and still more is this recognized as necessary in this later system. 'The soul gives sight to the eyes; he who gives sight to the soul is Siva; therefore one should worship in supreme love him who does kindness to the soul.'³

But the doctrine of the Saiva Siddhanta alone could hardly have obtained for southern Saivism so complete a victory over Buddhism and Jainism. Alongside of this intellectual reinforcement there sprang up about this time a remarkable spirit of devotion which, through the great saints and poets of this period, gave to Saivism, one cannot doubt, more than anything else did, the strength by which it prevailed over its cold and sterile rivals 'No cult in the world', says Dr. Barnett, 'has produced a richer devotional literature or one more instinct with brilliance of imagination, fervour of feeling, and grace of expression.'⁴ The exact period of this efflorescence

1. Op. cit., liii.

2. Op. cit., p. lxxix.

3. Meykandar in Barnett's *Heart of India*, p. 80.

4. *Heart of India*, p. 82.

of the South Indian religious spirit is extremely doubtful. It cannot be determined within more definite limits than the seventh to the eleventh centuries. This was a time, not only of Saivite, but of Vaishnavite revival. The sixty-three Saiva saints of tradition had as contemporaries, it is probable, some of the Vaishnavite Alvars, and that, apparently, without any keen antagonism being aroused between them. That antagonism came later when their common enemy, the Jain, had been overcome. The greatest of the poet-saints who have exercised so enduring an influence upon this South Indian faith is Manikka-vasagar, whose *Tiruvasagam* or 'Sacred Utterances' is full of the most intense religious feeling. Here we have the doctrines of the Saiva Siddhanta fused into passionate experience in the heart of a worshipper of Siva. Their author is said to have been prime minister to a Pandyan king, and probably flourished in the tenth or eleventh century of the Christian era, though Dr. Pope seems sometimes inclined to place him as early as the seventh or eighth century. He went, the story goes, like Saul, to seek, not his father's asses, but horses for the king, but, like Saul, he found instead a kingdom, though in his case a kingdom of the spirit. Siva himself, surrounded by a great company of his saints, revealed himself to him in the form of a venerable *guru*, and his errand was forgotten, and the world renounced. 'He has gone from the Council, and put on the shroud', and he journeys in pilgrimage from town to town, worshipping at every shrine, and composing songs in celebration of the various seats of Siva worship and their god. 'The success of Manikka-vasagar in reviving Saivism', says Dr. Pope,¹ 'which seems to have been then almost extinct, was immediate, and we may say permanent ...

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

1. Pope's *Tiruvasagam*, p. xxxiii.

From his time dates the foundation of that vast multitude of Saiva shrines which constitute a peculiar feature of the Tamil country.'

In the legend of Manikka-vasagar's conversion, the divine *Guru*, it is said, held in his hand a book which proves to be the *Siva-nana-bodham* of Meykandar. As a matter of fact, this manual of the Saiva Siddhanta did not come into existence for at least two centuries after the time of the Saivite saint and poet. The period of inspiration precedes the period of reflection; the experience of the saint furnishes the material for the doctrinal system of the theologian. Already in his poems we find expressed in the language of the heart those views of the relation of the soul to God and to the world that the schoolmen formulated later into a religious philosophy. For Manikka-vasagar, as for so many saints, the central point in his religious life to which he continually returns for a renewal of his inspiration is his conversion. It is a continually recurring theme for praise throughout his hymns, a constantly recurring source of encouragement when he falls into despair. Throughout his poems there is such an accent of humility and adoration, such a sense of his unworthiness and of the divine grace, as seems to bring him very near indeed to the spirit of the Christian saints. No doubt there are, at the same time, deep differences, which the common ardour of expression hides. How far the sense of his unworthiness springs solely from a moral root, how far the greatness of his god is a purely moral supremacy, how far the sense of the divine presence is spiritual or largely sensuous—these questions need not here be considered, nor can their answers, whatever they

may be, detract greatly from the deep affinity of saints, apparently so alien from each other in many respects. Again and again we find Manikka-vasagar giving utterance to such experiences as are common to all devout souls who have sought God sincerely and have in some measure found Him

‘These gods are gods indeed’,—‘These others are the gods,’ men wrangling say; and thus

False gods they talk about and rant and rave upon this earthly stage. And I

No piety could boast: that earthly bonds might cease to cling, to him I clung.

To him, the god of all true gods, go thou, and breathe his praise, O humming-bee.¹

Dr Pope in his translation of the *Tiruvāṣaḡam*, by the headings he places to paragraphs of the poem indicates how close he finds the affinity to be between these utterances of a sincere devotion, and those of the Christian religious experience. ‘Longing for grace alone’, ‘Without thy presence I pine’, ‘Deadness of soul’, ‘God all in all’, ‘I am thine, save me’, ‘His love demands my all’—these are a few taken at random, and they are sufficient by themselves to indicate that with all the strange mythology that weaves its fantastic forms across the poems, and that perplexes and repels a Western reader, we have here the essential note of a deeply devout and a truly ethical Theism.

We have seen that a note of Saivism has always been the unknowableness of God. The Vaishnavite followers

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1. Pope's *Tiruvāṣaḡam*, pp. 143, 144.

of the *bhakti marga* often affirm this no less strongly, but like Tulsi Das they argue that, just because God is beyond the reach of thought and act and speech, the one way of salvation for men is in the worship of such an Incarnation of the Supreme Deity as Rama. Similarly, though Saivism has had no place for such incarnations as we find within the rival system, Manikkavasagar is never weary of claiming that Siva has come near to him in his grace as the *guru* and revealed himself.

Mal (Vishnu), Ayan, all the gods and sciences divine
His essence cannot pierce. This Being rare drew
near to me :

In love he thrilled my soul.¹

Again,

The 'Mount' (Siva) that Mal knew not and Ayan
saw not — we can know.²

There is no limit to the ecstasy with which he describes
the effect of this revelation of grace.

Sire, as in union strict, thou mad'st me thine ; on
me didst look, didst draw me near ;

And when it seemed I ne'er could be with thee
made one—when naught of thine was mine—

And naught of mine was thine—me to thy feet
thy love

In mystic union joined, Lord of the heavenly
land, — 'Tis height of blessedness.³

1. Pope's *Tiruvasagam*, p 157.

2. Op. cit., p. 106.

3. Op. cit., p. 72.

It is hardly necessary to multiply illustrations of the fervent spirit of this worshipper of Siva. It is a constant marvel to note how the heat of his devotion is able to transmute to its purposes of adoration even the repellent aspects of the god. His descriptions of him seem at times to touch the very brink of all we hate. This is he who 'wears the chaplet of skulls'; he is the 'maniac';

A. dancing snake his jewel, tiger-skin his robe,

A form with ashes smeared he wears.¹

A favourite epithet is 'the black-throated one'. But this epithet, as a matter of fact, strange as it seems to us, is what especially suggests to his devotee the grace of Siva, and it constantly recurs in his poems as a motive to praise and worship. What to the Vaishnavite are the 'three steps' of Vishnu, that to the Saivite is the story of how this god drank the *halahala* poison and so made his throat for ever black. In both cases the story has been laid hold of by the instinct of the devout heart as a symbol of the divine grace that saves. In order that he might deliver the gods, when a stream of black and deadly poison flowed forth at the churning of the Sea of Milk, Siva of his own will drank it up and gave to them instead the ambrosia that followed. Thus the Saivite worships with gratitude and adoration a god who has suffered for others, and the black throat is for him a constant reminder of his grace.

Thou mad'st me thine ; didst fiery poison eat,
pitying poor souls,

That I might thine ambrosia taste—I meanest one.

1. Op. cit., p. 195.

By the help of such a thought as that the South Indian worshipper has been able to transform the strange appearance of this pre-Aryan divinity, so demoniacal in many of his aspects, into a gracious being whom his heart can love. It is at least a testimony to the amazing power of the religious passion surging up within these southern saints, a passion impossible to content with less in God than the grace that condescends and suffers, with less than a love correspondent to the love that moves itself. When 'the Brahman' represented to this seeker that 'the way of penance is supreme', or when the 'haughty Vedant creed unreal came', he turned away unsatisfied. Then, he says, 'Lest I should go astray he laid his hand on me'.² This testimony to a real spiritual experience, a real movement of the divine love to meet the human, is expressed again and again throughout these lyrics with a manifest sincerity. The 'law of trusting love'³ finds its fulfilment and 'this love that falls not day by day still burgeons forth'⁴ Certainly these poems, with all that is strange and repellent in the symbols that are employed in them to represent the deity, seem to echo a theistic experience as genuine as it is intense.

The victory of Saivism over both Buddhism and Jainism is thus mainly to be attributed to two converging lines of reinforcement, one intellectual, coming, perhaps, ultimately from the Kashmir Salvite

1. Pope's *Tiruvāsagam*, p. 195.

2. Op cit., p. 34

3. Op. cit., p. 33.

4. Pope's *Tiruvāsagam*, p. 35.

philosophers, the other indigenous, issuing from the sense of their own religious needs. Another influence in the same direction which the Saivite shared with the Vaishnavite is that of the *Bhagavadgita*. 'The influence of the *Gita*', says Dr. Pope, 'upon South India as a doctrinal manual and as a great and inspiring poem has been and is incalculably great.'¹ He finds traces of this influence in every part of Manikka-vasagar's poems. We even find in one of the philosophical books of Saivism a quotation from the *Gita* so linked on to one from a Saivite scripture that the teaching of the former as to the Paramatman—Vaishnavite as it in reality is—is directly associated with the name of Siva.² Thus the *Gita*, even in this alien environment, vindicates itself as the greatest and most influential of all Indian theistic scriptures.

Manikka-vasagar was an orthodox Saivite and represents at its highest the Saivite *bhakti* of Southern India. There were others, however, who, outside the dominant Church, cherished and proclaimed an inward and monotheistic faith. In the *Siva-vakyaṃ*, a collection of 'Siva speeches' by various poets, there are some remarkable expressions of such a religious experience. In one of these the poet turns away from idols and from temples to another shrine, 'the mind within his breast'. 'And thus,' he says, 'where'er I go, I ever worship God.'³ Another example may be quoted of

1. Op. cit., p lxvi, note

2. Appaya's commentary in *The Search after God*, pp. 49, 50

3. C. D. Barnett's *Heart of India*, p. 92.

this devotion that revolts from ritual tradition and orthodoxy and finds its way by its own fervour to the feet of God.

When thou didst make me thou didst know my all :
 But I knew not of thee. 'Twas not till light
 From thee brought understanding of thy ways
 That I could know. But now where'er I sit,
 Or walk, or stand, thou art for ever near.
 Can I forget thee ? Thou art mine, and I
 Am only thine. E'en with these eyes I see,
 And with my heart perceive, that thou art come
 To me as lightning from the lowering sky.
 If thy poor heart but choose the better part,
 And in this path doth worship only God,
 His heart will stoop to thine, will take it up
 And make it his. One heart shall serve for both.¹

As one reads these stanzas, as has been remarked by Dr. Barnett 'one is tempted to wonder whether "Siva-vakyar" was not a worshipper at the local Christian church'.

Along with these more spiritual movements there occurred in the northern district of Kanara a religious revolt, less pure probably in the motives that inspired it, certainly less worthy in its results. Mention has already been made of Basava, minister of King Bijjala of Kalyana, who was the leader in a Saivite revival which did much to overthrow the power of Jainism, hitherto dominant in that region. He flourished in the latter part of the twelfth century. Associated with him in this religious

reformation there seems to have been another Brahman called Ramayya who, in an inscription dated about 1200, is called 'Ekantada Ramayya', 'because he was an ardent and devoted worshipper of Siva'.¹ 'Basava was the Luther, Ramayya the Erasmus' of the new cult. It is not easy to form any certain estimate of the religious character of this Vira Saivite or Lingayat movement, as it was called. It was, no doubt, in its inception something worthier than it appears to-day. Its followers now form only another among the many Hindu castes, with little to distinguish them from the rest except their strong opposition to Brahman privilege. They also permit widow-remarriage and are opposed to child-marriage. Lingayats acknowledge Siva alone and place upon the *linga*, his symbol, a faith that in the case of the most of the modern adherents of the sect leaves little room for spiritual worship. One can see, however, in their ejection of the efficacy of sacrifices, penances, pilgrimages, and fasts, indications that in its origin this may have been a movement towards a purer and more inward faith. If it is the case that the Vira Saivites were a 'peaceful race of Hindu Puritans', they probably in the spirituality of their worship and its ethical character represented—to begin with at least—a theistic religion, such as was the Siva *bhakti* of the further south, but less emotional and devout. It was as such, no doubt, that this sect contended with and overcame the dominant Jainism. At the same time it was the more likely to become corrupt and to fall to the common level of Hindu formalism and superstition.

1. Thurston and Rangachari's *Castes and Tribes of South India*, s. V. Lingayat.

because of its lack of the fervour of *bhakti* which gave such warmth and energy to the faith of Manikka-vasagar. To the Lingayat salvation seems to have meant absorption into, or attainment of an impersonal union with, the deity. In this respect this movement seems to have been even from the beginning non-theistic, and a theist may discover in that fact the secret of its religious barrenness in contrast with the Saivism of the Tamil land, as well as the explanation of the rapidity and completeness with which it appears to have fallen into decay.

In this sect and to a less extent in the religion of the Saivite saints of the Tamil land we find those spiritual and ethical instincts which are generally associated with Theism engaged in a conflict with anti-theistic influence everywhere powerful in India and always in the end victorious. Of these one is that tendency to formalism and superstition, which everywhere, as soon as the first fervour of a movement of religious revival has begun to fail, bears down to earth again the human spirit, and which seems to press upon the religious life of India especially with a weight heavy as frost and deep, we may say, even as death. Another antagonist is the influence, peculiar to India, of a philosophy invincibly hostile to personal religion and to moral ardour, and extraordinarily tenacious of its grasp upon the Indian spirit. It is evident that the Lingayat reform movement made little headway against these adverse forces and soon succumbed to them. The tides of Vedantism and of superstition soon reduced this region too to the normal level of Indian religious life, and only a point of rock projecting here and there above the waste of

waters – its spirit of antagonism to Brahman claims, for example remains to mark the place where once there was a real insurgence of the conscience and the heart. Its work was done when it helped in the overthrow of Buddhism and of Jainism. The devotion of the Tamil saints has had a more abiding influence, for the reason that its roots went deeper into the heart, and that, as a result, it found expression in poetry which continues to bear its witness to later generations and to find a response in other hearts. But here too the subtle Vedanta doctrine in the end prevails. The fervour of devotion is able for an ardent moment to preserve the equilibrium of being and non-being in *mukti*, of absorption and bliss. It can rejoice in 'the way which is neither single nor two-fold'.¹ But when the emotion passes, the logic of the understanding makes its claims. Then, as regards its goal at least, the doctrine of the Saiva Siddhanta becomes indistinguishable from that of the Vedanta. The grace of Siva remains and the Great Lord is still a personal deity, but the individual self attains deliverance by being absorbed into the Supreme and Selfless One. 'Where the soul stood before, Siva stands there in all his glory, the soul's individuality being destroyed'.² Thus here as everywhere in India the 'haughty Vedant creed'³ seems in the end to triumph and the Theism that was once so ardent pales to an ineffectual spectre.

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1. *Sivan Seyal*, translated by Clayton in *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol. xvii, p. 308.
 2. *Tiruvunthiar* (Commentary) in *Siddhanta Deepika*, vol. VIII, p. 190.
 3. Pope's *Tiruvagasam*, p. 33.

III Tamil Saints

[M/s Williams and Norgate, London published in 1921, the Hibbert Lectures of J. Estlin Carpenter, in the form of a book entitled "Theism In Medieval India," and the article here printed is from Lecture VI dealing with 'Philosophy and Religion in Saivism'.

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, his capacity for analysis and assimilation coupled with his sympathy for the Indian Religions had enabled him to indite this work of considerable significance.

The author had studied in depth the Tamil scholars like M. S. Aiyangar (Tamil Studies), G. U. Pope (The Thiruvachakam), J. M. Nallaswami Pillai (Siddhanta Dipika Volumes), P. Sundaram Pillai (Some Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature), S. Purnalingam Pillai (Primer of Tamil Literature), Schomerus (Der Caiva Siddhanta), V. V. Ramana Sastrin (Siddhanta Dipika Volumes) and G. Sabharatnam of Ceylon.

We have in our foot-notes pointed out the major errors of the author. Ed.]

Meanwhile the most remarkable product of Caiva religion presents itself among the Tamils of South India. By what means and at what date the Brahman culture was carried among the Dravidian peoples it is no longer possible to determine.¹ Legend has its own version, and the Tamil chroniclers boldly assigned an enormous antiquity to the famous Academies which

1. Mr. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (1904), proposes 500 B. C. as a mean date. Cp. the *Lectures on the Ancient History of India*, by Prof D.R. Bhandarkar (Calcutta, 1919), p. 13 ff.

were supposed to have developed the art of literary composition after the Brahman Agastya had provided the language with an alphabet and grammar.¹ There are, unfortunately, no clear historical data, in spite of very active poetical production, until about the sixth century of our era. The early forms of the cults of Civa and Vishnu beside the Buddhists and the Jains are shrouded in obscurity.² But it is recognised by the best Tamil scholarship that "as late as the third or fourth century A. D. there was no Civaism or Vishnuism as understood now."³ Yet in the sixth century Caivism is firmly established in Dravidian

1. A learned lawyer and judge, editor also of important Tamil texts, recently assigned a period of ten thousand years (10, 150-150 B. C) to the three traditional Academies. Mr. M. S. Aiyangar, M. A., in his interesting volume of *Tamil Studies* (Madras, 1914), conceived the first and second "to have existed occasionally some time between 500 B. C and A. D. 200," p 244. The really distinctive work seems to have been done at Madura, the capital of the Pandyan kings, by the so-called Third Academy.

2. In an important article on the Dravidians of S. India, *ERE*, v p 22, Mr. R. W. Frazer suggests that as Civa in Tamil means "red," an original Dravidian deity of that name may have been amalgamated with the Rudra Civa of the Vedic hymns, Rudra having often the same meaning. Cp. *ante*, Lect. V., p. 226², and *Linguistic Survey*, iv. p. 279. Cp. Pope, *Tiruvacagam*, p. lxiv,² on a probable S. Indian demonic element in the Caiva cult.

3. *Tamil Studies*, p 251.

countries with its characteristic piety.¹ An inscription from Mysore (500-550) celebrates him as the Eternal *Sthanu* (the "Steadfast") "whose one body is formed by the coalescence of all the gods, and whose grace (*prasada*) constantly guards the three worlds from the fear of evil."² Plates from the Nasik district (Bombay) in the year 595 commemorate the military success, the learning, the charities, the aids to the afflicted, the blind, and the poor, of King Cankaragana, a worshipper of Civa under the name of *Pucupati*, "the Lord of Souls."³ A little later the Gurjaras of Broach (Bombay), who were originally sun-worshippers, all became Caivas⁴. When Yuan Chwang in 640 made his way down the eastern coast to the Pallava kingdom, and stayed at its capital Kanchipura,⁵ he found ten thousand Buddhists in

1. See the poems of Appar (or St. Vagica), 573. below; Venkayya in *Epigr. Ind.* iii p. 277. Mr. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai claims Narkirar, chief of the Academy poets, as the earliest exponent of the Caiva-Siddhanta, but he does not venture to fix his date *Siddh. Dip.*, xii 10 (April 1912), p. 407.

2. *Epigr. Ind.*, viii. p. 33

3. This title already appears in the Gupta inscriptions about A. D. 350 at Allahabad. *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, i p. 1. Dr Fleet translates it simply "Lord of Animals," following the mythological description of the Ganges flowing through his braided hair. On its religious meaning in Kashmir Caivism, cp. p. 347.

4. *Epigr. Ind.*, xii. p. 201.

5. Commonly identified with Conjeveram, but see Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii. p. 226 f.

the country, with a hundred monasteries and eighty Deva temples, of which the majority were Jain. The Caivas, therefore, were not yet powerful. But the Tamil poets of Caivism were already at work. The struggle with the dominant Jains was severe, and the religion which was established in conflict generated a new energy of emotion. Bands of Brahman theologians came down from Upper India.¹ The air was full of debates and disputations. In the seventh century Tiru-Nanasambandhar converted the Pandyan king from Jainism, and later tradition affirmed that with the fierce wrath of an Elijah he celebrated his victory in controversy by the massacre of eight thousand Jains.² Like his earlier contemporary Appar, he was a copious hymn-writer, 384 compositions being ascribed to him. So powerful was the impress of his work and character, that "there is scarcely a Civa temple in the Tamil country where his image is not daily worshipped."² From this time an impassioned stream of sacred verse flows on for centuries. The power of Caivism—and of Vaishnavism by its side—continually grows. Hundreds of temples rise through

1. *Tamil Studies*, p. 217.

2. P. Sundaram Pillai, *Some Milestones in the Hist of Tamil Lit.* ('895), p. 9. Annual feasts are held in his name, with dramatic representations of events in his life. As an illustration of the chronological difficulties attending literary investigation, it may be mentioned that while one English scholar (Taylor) placed him about 130 B.C., another (Bishop Caldwell) assigned him to A. D. 1292! Cp. S. Purnalingam Pillai, *Primer of Tamil Literature* (1904), p. 8.

^A An obvious misinterpretation. Ed.

South India to the two great Gods.¹ Each can boast its line of saints, its poets, its teachers. The first collection of Caiva hymns, the *Devaram*, is made about 1025, and others follow.² By the year 1100³ sixty-three Caiva saints are commemorated in the *Periya Purana*⁴ Here is no systematic theology, but a record of vivid personal experience. Its fundamental motive is most briefly expressed by one of the later poets, Tiru-Mular, in a single verse:

"The ignorant say that Love and God are different ;
None know that Love and God are the same.

When they know that Love and God are the same,
They rest in God's Love."

And the further lesson ran:

"They have no love for God, who have no love for all mankind."⁴

The Caiva hymns are one long series of variations on these themes. Mingled sometimes

1. On the Civa temples at Pattadakal (Bijapur district of Bombay) and Ellora (Hyderabad), see Havell, *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture in India* (1915), pp. 177 ff., 193 ff

2. *Tamil Studies*, p.220 ; Frazer, ERE, v p 23. The Vaishnavites about the same time gathered a "Book of Four Thousand Psalms" See Lect. VII., p.383.

3. *South Indian Inscr.*, II ii. p. 152.

4. *Siddhar*, xii. 2, quoted in *Siddhanta Dipika* xiii. 5 (Nov. 1912), p 239 .

⁵ The year is 1139 A. D. Ed

with strange mythological allusions and unexpected metaphors, they tell of raptures and ecstasies, of fears and falls. There are periods of gloom when the heavens are shrouded and the face of God is hid. There are splendours of light when the world is transfigured in the radiance of love. At the outset of the great chorus the first voices are calm and gentle; and even Appar, who tells how he had been bound by heretics to a granite pillar and flung into the sea, and was saved by repeating the sacred name,¹ can muse tranquilly on the "fellowship of the Spirit" in contrast with conventional practice or even ethical endeavour.

"The grace of God is as pacifying as the soft music of the lute, Or the tender moon in the evening sky.

All learning and wisdom are for doing reverence to God.

God should be worshipped out of pure love as the Great Benefactor,

Who gave us the instruments of knowledge, speech, and action, For escape from destructive desires.

Such desires are hard to conquer without the grace of God.

God rescues from the onsets of sensuous desires those whose hearts melt for him;

1. *Siddhanta Dipika*, xiii 2 (Aug. 1912), p. 6'. The five sacred letters of "Nama Civaya," or "Praise to Civa," were believed to possess a certain sacred or mystical power.

He reveals himself to those who love him above
all things,

When the [churn of the] heart is moved hard by
[the staff of] love,

Rolled on the cord of pure intelligence,

They who would be free from sin and corruption,
Should think of God deeply and continuously
with joy.

Then he will be at one with them and grant
them his grace.

Freedom from sin and corruption is to those only
who see him in all things,

And not to those who see him only in particular
places,

Nor to those who merely chant the Vedas or
hear the Castras expounded.

It is to those only who crave for at-one ment
With the omnipresent and all-powerful Lord,

And not to those who bathe at dawn,

Nor to those who have at all times striven
to be just,

Nor to those who make daily offerings to the
Devas

It is to those only who know the Lord to be
boundless in love and light,

And not to those who roam in search of holy
shrines,

Nor to those who practise severe austerities, or
abstain from meat.

No gain of spiritual freedom is there to those
who display the robes

And other insignia of Yogins and Sannyasins, or who mortify the flesh.

That gain is only for those who glorify him as the Being Who vibrates throughout the universe and in every soul.”¹

Very different are the confessions of Manikka Vacagar² in the ninth century, whose fifty-one hymns depict the progress of a soul out of the bondage of ignorance and passion into the liberty of light and love.³ Their devotional idiom may often sound strange to Western ears; their mythological allusions will sometimes repel readers accustomed to a different imaginative outlook. But their sincerity is indisputable. The poet's theme is the wonder of divine Grace shown forth in his own life, and he tells without reserve the marvel of his first conversion, his joy and exaltation, his subsequent waywardness, his despondencies, his falls, his shame and his final recovery and triumph. Dr. Pope compares the influence of these verses in shaping the religious life of the Tamils of South India to that of the Psalms in the Christian Church. They are daily sung throughout the country with tears of rapture.⁴

¹. *Siddhanta Dipika*, xi. 1. (July 1910), p. 15, tr. P. Ramanathan. I have taken the liberty to print the successive sentences so as to show a certain rhythm of thought where verse is unattainable.

2. Sanskr. Manikya Vachaka, “he whose utterances are rubies.”

3. See *The Tiruvacagam*, or “Sacred Utterances,” tr. G. U. Pope (Oxford, 1900).

4. Pp. xxxii - xxxiv.

The story of the poet's life is enveloped in legend. Born in a Brahman family on the river Vaigai near to Madura, he attracted the notice of the king, and was early called to the royal service. A student of the Vedas, he sought wisdom from many masters, but was satisfied with none.¹ The world had woven its bonds around him. Court favour, wealth, dignity, the charms of women—all were at his command, he was "caught in the circling sea of joyous life."² The ancient Scriptures failed to hold him; "busied in earth, I acted many a lie"; he gave no thought to birth and death, sunk in the flood of lust and the illusion of "I" and "mine". Suddenly, as he was on a mission for the king,³ he was arrested in mid-career by a power that he could not resist. "He laid his hand on me." The experience could only be described by saying that "the One most precious Infinite to earth came down"; but what he saw could not be told.

"My inmost self in strong desire dissolved,
I yearned ;

Love's river overflowed its banks ;

My senses all in him were centred ; 'Lord,' I cried,

With stammering speech and quivering frame

I clasped adoring hands ; my heart expanding like
a flower."⁴

1. iv. II. 42-51, p.33.

2. xli. 1, p. 309,

3. This may be the historical nucleus of the romantic legend, p.xx ff.

4. iv. II. 80-84 p. 35.

All sorts of emotions struggled within him, loathing for past sin, amazement at the divine condescension, a bounding sense of assurance and freedom:

"I know thee, I, lowest of men that live,

I know, and see myself a very cur,

Yet, Lord, I'll say I am thy loving one !

Though such I was, thou took'st me for thine own.

The wonder this ! Say, is there aught like this?

He made me servant of his loving saints ;

Dispelled my fear: ambrosia pouring forth, he came,

And while my soul dissolved in love made me
his own.

Hence forth I'm no one's vassal; none I fear,

We've reached the goal."¹

But his triumph was premature. He will hide nothing, he will confess all :

"Faithless I strayed, I left

Thy saints, a reprobate was I. How did I watch the
one beloved,

The quiverings of the lip, the folds of circling
robe, the timid bashful look,

To read love's symptoms there."²

It is a familiar story, but rarely told with such truthfulness. Out of his falls he is once more lifted into "mystic union." With a tender familiarity he explains it, "There was in thee desire for me, in me for thee." He was, then, worth something even to God. It suggests a still profounder thought :

1. v. 23, 29, 30 (condensed), p. 53 ff. Cp. xxxc. 1, p. 264.

2. v. 57.

"The tongue itself that cries to thee— all other powers
Of my whole being that cry out — all are Thyself.
Thou art my way of strength ! the trembling thrill
that runs
Through me is Thee ! Thyself the whole of ill
and weal."1

So through the storms of emotion he makes his way to peace, to a security so profound that he can truthfully exclaim —

“Though hell’s abyss
I enter, I un murmuring go, if grace divine appoint
my lot.”

From the tranquillity of the sage's path, as he withdraws from the world and wanders from shrine to shrine (tradition tells of his encounters with Buddhists from Ceylon), he looks back over his life in the world:

“Glory I ask not, nor desire I wealth ; not earth
or heaven I crave ;
I seek no birth nor death ; those that desire not
Civa nevermore
I touch ; I’ve reached the foot of sacred Perun-
turrai’s king
And crown’d myself ; I go not forth ; I know no
going hence again.”

1. xxxiii 5, p. 275.

2: v. 2, p. 45.

3. xxxiv. 7, p 280 Cp. xxii. 2, 3, 7, p 218 ; and for general retrospect, li. p. 351. Perun-turrai is "great harbour," now called Avudaiyar Koyil (p. xxi. It was on his way thither that the saint's conversion took place, and he is still worshipped there.

In a quieter mood Tiru Mular summed up a less varied experience :—

"I learnt the object of my union with the body,
I learnt of my union with the God of gods.
He entered my heart without leaving me,
I learnt the knowledge that knows no sin.

Seek ye the true support, hold to the Supreme,
Your desires will be satisfied when his Grace is
gained ;

With humility of heart the learned will secure
The bliss enjoyed by the bright immortals. " 1

Among the strange legends of the saints in the Periya Purana is the story of Karaikal Ammaiyar, a merchant's wife, whose beauty so distressed her that she prayed for the form of a demoness who could stand by God for ever in prayer. Amid a shower of divine flowers and applauding music from the skies she shed her flesh, and after wandering through the world in her bones approached the dwelling of Civa upon Mount Kailasa. There, as she humbly drew nigh to the God upon her head, it was vouchsafed to her to behold him. She loved to sing afterwards of the "God of gods with throat of shining blue,"² to tell of his braided hair and necklace

1. From the *Siddhanta Dipika*, xi. 7 (Jan. 1911), p. 289. His *Tirumantra* is translated by J. M. Nallaswami Pillai in vol. vii.

2. This dark-blue colour was the result of his, self-sacrificing act in swallowing the poison which issued from the churning of the ocean of milk to produce the drink of immortality, cp *Mbh.*, i. 18, 43ff., ante, p. 147.

of skulls. These were the accepted conventions of mythology. As she entered the Presence, the Lord called out to her "Mother," and she fell prostrate at his feet murmuring "Father." That one good word was uttered by the Lord, says the poet St. Sekkilar, "so that the whole world may be saved" ; for the mother's love that would free from all harm and redeem from all sin is indeed divine. And Karaikal sang :

"If one desires the path that leads to God
And wishes to deserve his grace, and asks
Where he dwells sure—Even in the heart of those
Like my poor self, it easy is to find." ¹

Here are significant forms of religious experience. What could philosophy make of them?

The *Caiva Siddhanta*, the "Accomplished End," the fixed or established truth, is but one among several branches of Tamil Caivism, and itself includes as many as sixteen different schools.² It

1. *Siddhanta Dipika*, xiii. 4 (Oct. 1912), p. 152ff.

2. Cp. Schomerus, *Der Caiva Siddhanta* (1912), Leipzig, p. 3. Besides this comprehensive exposition, the subject may be studied in the light of modern Tamil scholarship in the pages of the *Siddhanta Dipika* (extinct some years ago), and in the essays of Mr. J. M. Nallaswami, *Studies in Caiva Siddhanta* (1911), Madras. Among the principal documents available for English readers are the following : Nilakantha's *Commentary on the Sutras of Badarayana* in the early vols. of *Siddh. Dip.* ; the *Civa-Jnana-Botha* of Meykanda (1223), tr. Hoisington, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Soc.*, iv. (1854) ;

rests upon a twofold Scriptural authority, the Vedas and the Agamas, "both of them true, both being the Word of the Lord,"¹ but not of equal value. The Vedas are the more general, a common basis provided by Civa for all religions; the Agamas are the more special, suitable for advanced believers and maturer experience. Revelation is thus recognised as progressive. The Agamas are twenty-eight in number, ten of which are reckoned as "Root-Agamas," and as such are "God-taught"; the rest, though divine in origin, are only "man-realised."² Composed in Sanskrit, they were already

and Nallaswami (1895); the *Tiru Arul Payan* ("Fruit of Divine Grace"), by Umapati, tr. Pope in his *Tiruvacagam*, and the *Civa-Prakasa* ("Light of Civa"), tr. Hoisington, *JAOS*, iv, (1854) and assigned by him to the seventeenth century, but now attributed to Umapati, 1313. For a summary of five leading forms of present-day Caivism, cp. an Address by Mr K. P. Puttanna Chettiyar (Senior Counselor to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore), *Siddh. Dip.*, xi. 6 (Dec. 1910), p. 256. On the significance of Caivic religion in Nepal, Kashmir, and Mysore, "to this day the head centres of Agamic lore," cp. V. V. Ramana, *ibid*, p. 246. For the special significance of Vira-Caivism, *ibid*, p. 269, and xi. 7 (Jan. 1911), p. 315. "The entire religion is a vindication of the principle of the brotherhood of man, and its necessary concomitant, universal love". Cp. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism*, etc, p. 131.

1. *Tiru Mular*, in *Siddh. Dip.*, xii. 5 (Nov. 1911), p. 205.

2. V. V. Ramana, *Siddh. Dip.*, xi. 5 (Nov. 1901), p. 210. In x. 12 (June 1910), p. 476, the same writer places them before the first Buddhist Council, 480 B. C.; cp. x. 4 (Oct. 1909) p. 119.

regarded as products of grey antiquity by the author of the Suta Samhita (in the Skanda Purana of the fifth or sixth century A. D.).¹ They supplied the material for Tiru Mular's treatise *Tirumantira*,² and their main teachings were afterwards expounded on the basis of twelve Sanskrit verses in the *Civa-Jnana-Botha* ("Enlightenment in Civa-Knowledge") by Meykanda Deva ("the Divine Seer of the Truth") in 1223.³ This brief work was the foundation of Caiva scholasticism, and acquired a canonical character as a revelation from above, Paranjoti - Muni having been sent down from heaven to instruct Meykanda on the bank of the Lower Pennar in the South Arcot district.⁴ The work was designed to supply answers

1. Schomerus, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

2. The Tamil equivalent of *Cri-Mantra*, "the Sacred Word" (Frazer). Tamil writers place Tiru Mular in the first century A. D.; Western scholars bring him down much later.

3. A few years before the birth of Thomas Aquinas, 1225 or 1227.

4. Schomerus, *op. cit.*, p. 24. For the view of Dr. Barnett, that this development was due to the infiltration of Kashmir Caivism by a southward movement through the Kanarese country into the Tamil lands about the twelfth century, see his note in *Le Museon* (1909), p. 271, and *Siddh. Dip.*, xi. 3 (Sept. 1910), p. 103. On Kanarese Vira-Caivism in the twelfth century, cp. E. P. Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature* (1915), chap. iv. It must not be forgotten that Tamil Caivism had a long religious and literary development before the appearance of the schools of

to such questions as inquiring disciples might be expected to ask, such as — “Is the world eternal, or had it a beginning? Is it self-existent or produced? If produced, was the cause Time, or Karma, or Intelligent? If Intelligent, what was Nature?” — and so on through a series of cosmological and ontological puzzles, many of them of venerable descent.¹ The earlier Caivism had its own solutions of such problems, supplied by Nilakantha in the first extant commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. Cankara had not yet given its definite form to the *Advaita* doctrine, but its advocates were already in the field with their passages from Revelation. Nilakantha parries objections by citing others which proved the superiority of Brahman (Civa) alike to the universe and to the soul. He would admit neither an absolute identity nor an absolute distinction, and he called in the conception of Cakti to assist him in explaining their relation.² To this Cankara does not refer, though he criticises the doctrine of the Caivas

Kashmir, and much common terminology may be traced for centuries before Meykanda wrote. Cankara argued against Caivism, with which he must have been acquainted in South India; and his visit to Kashmir (if tradition may be trusted) apparently coincides with the first beginnings of the northern scholastic philosophy. Cp. *ante*, p. 309.

1. Cp. the opening of the *Cvetacvat Up.*, *ante*, p. 228.

2. Cp. the long passage quoted by Nallaswami Pillai in *Studies in Caiva Siddhanta*, p. 260 ff. This doctrine was known technically as *bhedabhed*. “distinction-and-distinction.”

who regarded the Lord as only the operative and not also the material cause of the world.¹ The later scholastics marshalled a row of arguments against the monistic Vedanta, which they regarded as their most dangerous foe. St. Arulnandi wound up a long series with the plea that "If you say that all knowledge is illusion, what you call Brahman is Illusion ; and if Brahman is Illusion, the assumption of intelligence falls to the ground."¹

Like other philosophies of religion, the Caiva-Siddhanta sought to determine the relations of three orders of beings, God, the world, and the soul. In agreement with the Vedanta of Cankara, it viewed the Samsara as without beginning, but instead of attributing to it only a relative reality, it declared that matter and souls were, like God; eternal. But the world as we know it passes through a series of phases. It is for ever undergoing a process of evolution, of maintenance, and dissolution. Its form continually changes but its substance remains the same. Its material cause is Maya, the primeval stuff whence the universe is organised, like the clay converted into the shapely jar. And it requires an efficient cause ; it cannot have produced itself spontaneously. How should the undifferentiated mass in silence and darkness set about to change ? The

1. i. 2, 37 : *SBE*, xxxiv. p. 435.

1. See Schomerus' translation from the *Civa-Jnana-Siddhiyar*, p. 37. A leading modern Caiva is said to have declared that he would rather see India Christian than Monist.

elements have no intelligence and cannot be the agents of the great development. Time, Karma, Atoms, all are without mind. Time is in reality changeless in its nature, except (says Meykanda shrewdly) to the observer who views it as past, present, or future :¹ but it is no energy, it can produce no effects. It supplies a condition for God's action, it is impotent to take its place. The efficient cause must be eternal, like Maya itself; it must be intelligent, for the universe is an ordered whole. True, God's immutability preserves the divine nature in sublime independence of vicissitude. "All things are to him one eternal consentaneous whole." He operates through his Cakti as the instrumental cause, as the potter uses his wheel and moulding-stick.

The cosmologic argument is reinforced from the moral side by the necessity of providing for the action of Karma. This also is eternal, but its sphere was in matter, and was lodged in the soul's bodily environment. It could not itself originate the distinction between good and evil, it could only register their issues. None but an omniscient Mind could have ordained the principles of morality, and none but omnipotent Power could have so arranged the world that the proper "fruit" should be attached to every act, and souls should everywhere and always get the rightful deserts of their virtue or their guilt. Once more the aid of the Cakti (which has various modes of activity) is invoked. The "sport" theory of the production of the world is vigorously repudiated.² There is a purpose in its endles.

1. *Civa-Jnana-Bodha*, i. 4, in *JAOS*, iv. p. 55.

2. Schomerus, p. 151, quoting Arulnandi's *Siddhiyar*.
 Cp. ante, p. 331.

successions. Metaphysically the Absolute has no emotions ; it is unaffected, that is to say, by pleasure and pain ; it derives no profit from its operations.¹ But with such an abstraction religion is not content. Through its "Grace-from" it is for ever engaged in the rescue of souls from the bondage of matter and the three "Stains" (*malas*) which defile their purity. This is the meaning of the unceasing rhythm of origin, existence, and destruction; and this is the explanation of experiences of the soul which bring the transcendent God into relation with man as an object of intellectual recognition and adoring love. Over against the Monist "Universal Subject", the Caiva philosophers placed a real pair, Divine and human. "If there is no other object but God," asks a modern interpreter, "how could we maintain that God is Good, that he is Love, and that he is Beneficent ? To whom does he do good, whom does he love ? Can we say that his goodness benefits the illusory forms for which he is himself responsible ?"²

Whatever Metaphysic may require in the theory of God as Being, Religion is frankly dualist. Accepting the formula *Sat-Chit-Ananda*, the Siddhanta enumerates eight divine attributes as the expression of these three characters—self-existence, essential purity, intuitive wisdom, infinite intelligence, essential freedom from all bonds, infinite grace or love, omnipotence, infinite

1. *Civa-Jnana-Botha*, i. 4, in *JAOS*, iv. p. 55.

2. G. Sabharatnam in *Siddh. Dip.*, xii. 9 (March 1912), p. 396,

enjoyment or bliss.¹ Such a Being is "neither male, female, nor neuter," says the sage Civavakkiyar, "neither Brahman, nor Vishnu, nor Rudra, but is spirit"; and the Swami Tayumanavar (eighteenth century) could exclaim—

"All space is thine, O thou far and near, immanent thou art,

And thou well'st up as a honied fountain of bliss in my heart".²

This dual presence in the world and in the soul was expressed by the doctrine of "distinction without distinction" (*bhedabheda*). The old Upanishad formula, "One without a second," must be in some way received and explained. "God is not different (*abheda*) from the world," argued Meykanda, "but as the world is not spiritual, and God is a spiritual form, he is different" (*bheda*). Similarly, "the soul is not God, for if it were not distinct it would have no power of motion or action."³ All kinds of analogies were pressed into the service of illustration. Just as sound filled all the notes of a tune, or flavour pervaded a fruit, so did God by his Cakti pervade the world so intimately that they do not appear to be two, yet this divine energy is essentially different from unconscious matter. The Sanskrit letters

1. R. R. Gunaratnam in *Siddh. Dip.*, xii. 7 (Jan 1912), p. 321. Cp. Nallaswami Pillai, *Studies*, p. 233, where "omnipotence" is accidentally omitted.

2. *Siddh. Dip.*, xii. 4 (Oct. 1911), pp. 155, 161.

3. *Civa-Jnana-Botha*, ii., *JAOS*, iv. p. 57 f.

were all regarded as containing the short vowel *a*. *Ka* could not be resolved into *k+a*. So, pleads Meykanda, is it with the soul. Without its vowel the letter would be mute; without God's Grace the soul would be helpless. As body and mind together form a unity, so God is the soul whose body is the universe of nature and of man. He is not *identical* with either, he is not their substance, but he dwells in them and they in him. *Advaita* is not oneness but inseparability. To realise this union in diversity is the high calling of the soul. So Arulnandi Civacharya wrote: —

"Say 'I am not the world, and separate from it,'
Say also, 'I am not the unknowable Supreme One'
Then unite with him indissolubly by loving him
in all humility,
and practise so' It a lics *ham* ('I am he'),
Then he will appear to you as your Self, your *mala*
will all cease, and you will become pure.
So it is the old Vedas teach us to practise this
mantra, *Aham Brahmasmi* ('I am Brahma')." 1

How was this consummation to be reached?

The doctrine of the soul was elaborated on the one hand against the materialists who only recognised the body and its organs, and on the other against the Vedantist identification of it with Brahman. The materialist was asked how the action of the five organs of sense, each independent and ignorant of the others, could be combined in acts of cognition without a knowing subject. Accepting much of the traditional

physiological psychology, Meykanda presented the soul in the midst of the senses, the *manas* and other faculties that rose above them, as a king attended by his primeminister and councillors.¹ But that was not its primeval condition. In the unbeginning eternity it was plunged in a strange stupor due to the defilement known as *Anava*.² It is a condition of ignorance and darkness, with many dangerous powers, for it leads souls unwittingly into action.³ It is not, indeed, a constituent of their being, but it is for the time inseparably connected with them, like salt in the sea or the husk enveloping the rice. But it does not exclude the action of God's grace, which is present even in this antecedent and unexplained mystery of "original sin." The story of creation and the endless succession of universes is the story of God's purpose to give the infinite number of uncreated souls the opportunity of extrication from this unhappy blindness. The process involves them in the influence of two additional "defilements," *maya*, or the material world and its attractions, and *karma*, the power which registers the moral issue of every activity and determines

1. Meykanda, iv, *JAOS*, iv. p. 71.

2. From *anu* 'atom', applied to the soul as conditioned by space; Schomerus, p. 104. Dr. Pope, *Tiruvacagam*, p.lxxxvi, defines it as "the state or character of the atom," and points to the use of *anu* by the Jains

3. Umapati, in "The Fruit of Divine Grace," iii. 26, personifies it as "My Lady Darkness" with an infinity of lovers. Pope, *Tiruvacagam*, p. lxxxv.

the character of successive births.¹ This is indeed independent of Civa. Its operation is in a sense conditioned by him, for it works through the entry of the soul into creation, and these time-periods are started at Civa's good pleasure. But its eternal law was not willed by him. It is an august coadjutor beside his sovereignty, whose authority even Civa himself cannot set aside, and he provides the means of the recompense for good and the requital for evil which Karma demands.

But as the soul starts on its long pilgrimage, the Grace of Civa, operating in many modes, is its unfailing companion. Even in the human frame God's agency is needed to give power to the soul in union with the perceptive organs, as the sun's light is needed to enable the observer to perceive objects in a mirror.² The divine beneficence is like a field which yields its stores to those who cultivate it; without partiality, unmoved by desire or hatred, he carries out the results of Karma, "having no will or power to do otherwise,"³ Like flowers which shut or open while the sun shines unclouded, God remains unchanged, while his Cakti assumes different forms to meet the varying needs of the soul's discipline. For the soul is no puppet in the grip of fate. The effect of past Karma does not destroy moral responsibility for the future, nor does the action of Grace over-ride the soul's own

1. These three "defilements" constitute the "bonds" of the soul, according to the formula *Patī paca, pacu*. Cp. *ante*, p. 347.

2. Meykanda, iii. 1; *JAOS*, iv. p. 67,

3. *Ibid*, ii. 5, p. 60,

choice. Beside the sphere of external act there is the internal sphere of feeling. The act is done, and its issue for good or ill cannot be altered. But the feeling may remain, and good dispositions may carry the soul forward, morally and religiously, to a point at which—though at first belonging to Karma—they ultimately transcend it¹ So the soul is prepared to make the right choice when Grace is offered to it. As the light arises in darkness will you put it before you or behind you? There are those who say, "No need for Grace to effect these results, the soul can do its own work."² Twice does Umapati in his cento of verses fling himself in scorn against such self-confidence.

"May I not say, 'I need not Grace to see by, I will
see myself' ?

Easy the way of vision, but' twixt eye and object
light must be.

1. Technically the soul's progress is laid out in three stages of successive deliverance from the three Defilements. The process of moral advance is always conceived as an increasing enlightenment of intelligence, which brings Civa ever more and more clearly into view. On the classes of occupants in the several conditions as one after another of the Impurities is discarded, cp. Adicesha Naidu, in *Siddh. Dip*, xii. 4 (Oct. 1911), p. 149. The lowest order involved in all three *malas* ranges from the tiniest insect up to Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra in "the most exalted Trinity."

2. Umapati, viii. 71 : iv. 33.

Without the light of Grace 'twixt soul and known,
soul sees not." 1

It is for the Guru or Teacher to let in the light. He is in reality a manifestation of Civa himself, even when he comes in human form to souls in the lowest rank.² "The thinking man," says a modern Caiva writer, "who has learned to worship the ideal he lives [*sic*] in spirit and in truth, finds it clothed in the form he thinks, and meeting and greeting him in person, to give him the helping hand that he so much needs and longs after. The Guru appears now and here, it may be in vision, or it may be in name and form and flesh as the thinker has been longing after to see, and seconds his efforts, describing to him the glory of the ideal that he has been vaguely thinking after. Hitherto he has been hazily building only with Hope and Faith. He has yet to learn that Love which endures to the end, and transcends time and space and the limits of causation. For this purpose the Guru describes to him in the clear light of reason the glory of the Promised Land, and prepares him therefor by testing his powers, his constancy, and his moral stamina, by a series of disciplinary exercises."³ This is a form of *yoga* practice, rising above the common duties of ritual and charity, demanding severe concentration, and sometimes generating ecstatic raptures of song and dance. It is, therefore, only in this life for the few. It requires

1. Umapati, vi. 56.

2. Meykanda, viii. 3 ; *JOAS*, iv. p. 87.

3. C. V. Svaminatha, in *Siddh. Dip.*, xi. 2

the suppression of all personal regards. "Set not thyself in the foreground," sings Umapati. "What thou beholdest, let it be That." But however long be the way, the Caiva believes that the goal will be reached at last. The divine Love can be satisfied with nothing less. "Civa desires that all should know him," says Meykanda emphatically.¹ It is an infinite process, and we are more conscious of the process than of the goal, as we see the strange varieties of human character and conduct. "It is God's prerogative," says the great medieval theologian, "to encourage and save those who resort to him, therefore he will surely save such as come to him; and while he will not save those who do not resort to him, yet he bears no ill-will towards them. Those servants who resort to him he will clothe in his own image, but others who do not come to him he will cause to eat of their own doings."² That diet will at last be found unsatisfying, and the divine Grace which has accompanied the soul through all its wanderings will lead it home.

Such at least is the disciple's faith. The theologians do not, indeed, describe an age of complete attainment when universes for recompense or retribution are needed no more. They concentrate their view on the blessedness of the individuals saved. "Did the soul perish," says Meykanda, "on becoming united with Civa, there would be no eternal being to be associated

1. xii. 3; *JAOS*, iv. p. 101.

2. Meykanda, x, 3; *JAOS*, iv. p. 97.

with Deity.¹ If it does not perish, but remains a dissociated being, then there would be no union with God. But the *malas* will cease to affect the soul, and then the soul, like the union of salt with water, will become united with Civa as his servant, and exist at his feet as one with him." The consummation may be far off, but faith unhesitatingly awaits it. "Will not Civa, who is not subject the Three Strands nor to the Three Defilements, who ever exists in his own imperishable form of happiness — will not he come as the Understanding of the soul, which, wonderful to say, will never leave it, and in a manner far transcending the rules of logic reveal himself? *He will thus reveal Himself.*"³ And so the deliverance of all souls is.

Many consequences flowed from a religion thus spiritually conceived. As the source of all enlightenment, sole Deity of Intelligence and Grace, Civa was really the true object of all devout aspiration. "Let me place on my head the feet of Civa," said Arulnandi,

1. The Advaita doctrine of the ultimate union of the soul with Brahman through the dispersion of the illusion of individuality was often interpreted as "annihilation." Cankara repudiated this view, *ante*, 342.¹

2. xi. 5, *JAOS*, iv. p. 99. Cp. Umapati, viii 75, and Pope, *Tiruvassagam*, note iii. "The Souls's Emancipation," p. xlii.

3. Meykanda, ix. 3, *JAOS*, p. 92.

"who stands as the goal of each of the six forms of religion, and fills one and all inseparably." ¹

"Into the bosom of the one great sea
Flow streams that come from hills on every side.
Their names are various as their springs.
And thus in every land do men bow down
To one great God, though known by many names."²

The Caiva teachers were confronted by an elaborate worship of temple and ritual, priesthood and sacrifice. The sacred images into which the Deity had been mysteriously brought by the ceremony of *avahana*³ must be tended and garlanded, fed and bathed and jewelled. They had been cherished for centuries ; gifts and services had been lavished upon them ; they were associated with reverence for saints and sages ; they had become the media through which the gracious help of Civa had been

1. Quoted by J. M. Nallaswami, *Studies*, p. 243. Cp. the inscr. at Khajuraho, in the Chhatarpur State, Central India, A. D. 1001-2, "Adoration to that Carva who causes all [gods] to be comprehended in his one person, he whom those acquainted with the Vedanta call Civa, the desire of the mind, while people of true knowledge call him the one Supreme Brahman, the indestructible, ageless, immortal, others the verily auspicious Buddha, others again the spotless Vamana, the Jina" ; *Epigr. Ind.*, i. p. 150.

2. "Written before the advent of Europeans", Gover, *Folk-Songs of Southern India* (Madras, 1871), p. 165.

3. Pope, *Tiruvacagam*, p. xxxv.

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

realised by the piety of generations.¹ On the other hand, how could the Thought, the Truth, the Light, the Love, of God, be embodied in wood or stone? So protest after protest flowed forth against idolatry, and against an elaborate external cultus arose a demand for a Puritan simplicity of devotion.

"If thou wouldst worship in the noblest way,
Bring flowers in thy hand. Their names are these,
Contentment, Justice, Wisdom. Offer them
To that great Essence — then thou servest God.
No stone can image God, to bow to it
Is not to worship. Outward rites cannot
Avail to compass that reward of bliss
That true devotion gives to those who know."²

Such a religion was necessarily open to all. It was independent of birth, rank or sex. From ancient times Civa had been hospitable to all: "Even if a man is a Chandala, if he utters the name of Civa, converse with him, live with him, dine with him." So Nilakantha quoted from an Upanishad, but the passage cannot now be found.³ Tiru Mular laid it down that "there is only one caste, and there is only one God"⁴ and a

1. Cp. the mystical interpretations of the Linga-cultus, by A. Rangaswami Iyer, in *Siddh. Dip.*, vii and viii.

2. Tr. Gover, *ibid.*, p 133. Cp. the hymns from Civavakyar, p. 177 ff.

3. *Siddhanta Dipika*, XIII, 5 (Nov. 1912), p. 238.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 239, cp. xi. 10 (April 1911), p. 433.

thousand years ago the poet Partrakiriyar appealed to an earlier sage Kapila to justify his aspiration :

"When shall our race be one great brotherhood
Unbroken by the tyranny of caste,
Which Kapila in early days withstood
And taught that men once were in times now
passed ?"¹

Will India be more ready under the influences of the twentieth century to respond to an appeal which she was unable to answer in the tenth ?



IV Bronzes and Siva Worship

[This article is part of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam's celebrated essay: "Polonnaruwa Bronzes and Siva Worship." Sir P. Arunachalam, the younger brother of Sir P. Ramanathan was the first Ceylonese to join the Civil Service by open competitive examination. He was also the first Ceylonese President of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) and he wrote on law, religion, history and philosophy. "The significance and value of his contributions" says Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, are enhanced by the circumstance that the author was not a cloistered savant nor a recluse but was one who, as a great lawyer and administrator, exemplified in his own life the possibilities of that combination of worldly and other - worldly achievement, the supreme exemplar of which was King Janaka of Mithila.]

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The images which I shall deal with are those of Siva, the principal member of the Hindu Trinity, of his consort Sivakami or Parvathi, of some of his principal saints, his favourite charger (the bull Nandi) and the Sun-god (Suriya). The bronzes are characterised by the precision that comes of long tradition and practice. But there is inequality in style and finish. Some of the bronzes are heavy, commonplace and conventional, showing the artist struggling with imperfect realization of his ideals, defective knowledge and training and insufficient mastery of the technical difficulties; others are distinguished by consummate power and are "a music to the eye," as, for example, Sundaramurti in plate VIII., which is unsurpassed in the expression of religious rapture and Chandaswara in plate IX a.

The most important are the bronzes of the dancing Siva known as *Nata-raja* or (in pure Tamil) *Ada-vallar*. In design and detail the bronzes do not differ from the bronzes in the temples of to-day, showing that there has been little or no change in the ritual and conventions of worship. The images of *Nata-raja* are scarcely equal in execution to the *Nata-raja* in the Brihad-isvara temple in Tanjore or that in the Madras Museum. *

The principal *Nata-raja* found in Polonnaruwa is shown in plate I. and on a smaller scale in plate II. *a* and *b*, the front and back view. Plates III. and IV. show two smaller figures of *Nata-raja* (front and back view), but incomplete, as the halo is wanting, and in IV. also the braided locks. The dance represents the cosmic activity, of which Siva is the director and therefore is called King (or Lord) of the dance (*Nata-raja* or *Natesa*). "Think of our Lord," says a devotee "as the peerless dancer and dancing master, who abideth in all bodies as heat in fuel and maketh all creatures dance." †

This form is a favourite symbol of Siva worship in the Tamil land of South India and Ceylon but is not, as far as I know, found in Northern India except in temples of Siva established there under Tamil auspices.

* See plates III. and IV. in Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*.

† காட்டவனல் போலுடல் கலந்துயிரை யெல்லா
மாட்டுமொரு நட்டுவனம் மண்ணலென

வெண்ணாய்

Tiruvatavur-adikal Puranam (புத்தரை வாழில் வென்ற
சுருக்கம், 75).

It is in Tamil land that the traditions of the dance had their origin and still have their yearly celebrations.

No Hindu image is deemed suitable for worship until it has been consecrated by elaborate ceremonies designed "to draw to "it (*a-vah-anam* Lat. *ad-veh-o*) the Divine Presence and make it what in Christian language might be called "a vehicle of Divine Grace." When an image has been deprived of its daily services or defiled by contact of unworthy hands, it must be consecrated anew before worship. The images are daily robed, jewelled and garlanded, and worshippers see scarcely more than face or hands. The almost nude bronzes before you you must imagine to be so robed and adorned order to see them as they are seen in the temples. Dr. Pope, a great missionary and scholar, who spent over half a century in Southern India and has edited, with an excellent translation and commentary, *Tiru-vachakam*, the ancient and popular Psalms of Tamil-land daily recited in the temples, says (p. xxxv) :-

"It is sometimes thought and said that the idols in these temples are mere signs, representing as symbols the Divine Being and some of His works and attributes. This is not altogether an adequate statement of the case. Each image by a peculiar service, which is called *avahanam*, becomes the abode of an in-dwelling deity and is itself divine. Devout and enthusiastic worshippers, amid the glare of the lamps and the smoke of the incense, seem to be carried away so as to entirely identify the invisible object of their thought with that which is presented before their eyes. It was certainly so with our poet. If it be remembered that some of these images

have been actually worshipped, tended, garlanded and treated as living beings for a thousand years ; that each generation has done them service and lavished gifts upon them ; that they are connected by association with long lines of saints and sages ; and that it is earnestly believed that Siva's method of manifestation is by, through, and in these as what we should call sacraments of his perpetual presence, —we shall understand with what profound awe and enthusiastic affection even images, to us unsightly, can be beheld by multitudes of good and excellent people."

The orthodox Hindu teaching held it to be irreverent and illogical to found artistic ideals of the Divine upon any strictly human or natural prototype, and recognizing the impossibility of human art realizing the form of God, sanctioned only an allegorical representation. "The artist," says an ancient Sanskrit writer, 'Sukrachariya' in his *Sukra Niti Sara* or Sukra's Elements of Polity, a work translated into the Tibetan language in the 7th century A. D., "should attain to the image of the gods by means of spiritual contemplation only. The spiritual vision is the best and truest standard for him. He should depend on it and not at all upon the visible objects perceived by external senses. It is always commendable for the artist to draw the images of the gods. To make human figures is bad and even irreligious. It is far better to present the figure of a god, though it is not beautiful, than to reproduce a remarkably handsome human figure." This of course is the antithesis of Greek Art, which glorified physical

beauty and strength and made the beautiful man or woman the type of God.

"Spiritual contemplation," says Havell, "is the key note of Hindu Art, as it was of the art of Fra Angelico and other great Christian masters: the whole philosophy of Indian Art is in these two words, spiritual contemplation, and they explain a great deal that often seems incomprehensible and even offensive to Europeans." Regarding all we see in Nature as transitory and illusive phenomena and the Divine Essence as the only reality, Indian Art cared little for the scientific study of facts, for anatomical detail, for the cult of the lay figure or the nude model. A faithful representation or imitation of Nature, though attained by him when he liked, was not to the Indian artist the end or a serious concern of Art. He strove, however imperfectly, to pierce the illusive appearance of things and realize something of the Universal, the Eternal and the Infinite. "Whatsoever a thing may be, to see in it the One Reality is true Wisdom," says Tiruvalluvar (*Kural*, 355).*

Ekodevah sarva bhuteshu gudah sarvavyapi
sarbabhutantaratma

Karmadhyakshah, sarvabhutadhivasah sakshi cheta
kevalo nirgunascha.

"The ore, luminous, hidden in all beings, pervading all the innermost self of all, overseer of all acts, dweller in all beings, witness, perceiver, alone, free from all qualities." (*Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 6, 11.)

* எப்பொரு ளெத்தன்மைத் தாயினு மப்பொருள்
வெப்பொருள் அன்பதறிவு. Digitized by eGangotri

Any attempt to represent in art this Being, transcending thought and speech, must necessarily be futile. How inadequate, for instance, are the representations by Michael Angelo in the paintings which adorn the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at Rome and which are generally regarded as the grandest creation of Modern Art ?

Mr. Laurence Binyon, poet and art-critic, writes thus of the Indian ideal and its influence in shaping the ideals and imagery of Chinese and Japanese Art now highly appreciated in Europe. "The Indian ideal claims everywhere its votaries, and the chosen and recurrent theme is the beauty of contemplation, not of action. Not the glory of the naked human form, to Western Art the noblest and most expressive of symbols ; not the proud and conscious assertion of human personality ; but instead of these, all thoughts that lead us out from ourselves into the universal life, hints of the infinite whispers from secret sources—mountains, water, mists, flowering trees, whatever tells of powers and presences mightier than ourselves : these are the themes dwelt on, cherished and preferred " (*Painting in the Far East*)

A correct judgment of nation's art is not possible unless the critic divests himself of prepossessions and endeavours to understand the thought of that people and to place himself in their point of view. As a great French savant, Taine, has said : "Quand on veut comprendre un art, il faut regarder l'ame du public auquel il s'adressait." As you can only speak to a person in a language which you both know,

so you can only appeal to his artistic side by means of some common tradition, feeling, symbolism. Art is, it is true, in one sense a universal language, but every nation's art is the outward and visible expression of, and intimately associated with, the national culture and sentiment, uses the symbols best understood by the people to whom it is addressed, and requires for its appreciation a familiarity with the national life and thought. This is especially the case with Indian Art, which is essentially idealistic, mystic, symbolic and transcendental, and cannot be judged by the canons of Greek Art, the Renaissance or the Art of modern Europe, which are all in greater or less degree naturalistic and realistic.

The symbolism by which Indian Art conveyed its ideas is to the Westerner, almost an insuperable obstacle to aesthetic appreciation. He cannot see a figure possessing more than the usual complement of limbs without uttering a groan of pain at this anatomical monstrosity. The question, however, is not one of Anatomy but of Art. The London *Times* some time ago observed, in a review of Mr. V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon: "The four-armed Siva is not a whit more anatomically impossible than the winged angels or the centaurs which have been represented by the greatest artists of the West-not to mention those cherubs of Italian art whose anatomical deficiencies, from the schoolmaster's point of view, gave an ever memorable opportunity to the humour of Charles Lamb. The fact is, that no artist of genius, East or West, has ever cared a straw about anatomy when he had anything to gain by disregarding it. Extra limbs can be badly composed, just as

the ordinary number can, but each case must be judged on its own merits; nor is it possible, in dealing with a definitely symbolic work of art, to separate the symbolism from the art so drastically as Mr. Vincent Smith is inclined to do. Nor again, can the symbolism of one section of Hindu mythology be justly separated from the rest and condemned as the product of a diseased imagination because it represents certain terrible aspects of Nature, which undoubtedly form a part of the whole and have to be taken into account in any deep and sincere conception of the universe "

Sukrachariya says in the work from which I have already quoted : "In order that the form of an image may be brought out fully and clearly upon the mind, the image - maker must meditate and his success will be in proportion to his meditation. No other way, not even seeing the object itself will answer this purpose "

Something of this impatient refusal to be limited by the outward semblance of things and by the conscious imitation of them something of this striving after the inner and informing Spirit by unlocking the treasures of sub-consciousness, marks the effort of all the new schools of European Art and especially of the Vorticists. Their painting and sculpture, crude as they seem to us, have raised fundamental aesthetic questions, and caused heart searchings as to the sculpture commonly regarded as the greatest, that of Greece. That remarkable Vorticist sculptor, Gaudier Brzeska,* who died last year,

* Pronounced Jaersh-ka. The organ of the Vorticists was the *Blast*.

at the early age of 23, fighting for France, uttered regarding Greek sculpture what the *Times* calls "a profound piece of criticism." He said: "The fair Greek saw himself only. He petrified his own semblance." Commenting on this the *Times* says : "It is the weak point in Greek sculpture, as compared with Egyptian, that it is entirely conscious and sharply limited by the effort to make the statue as like some reality as possible. The Egyptian was freed from his own egotism by his deeper religious feeling. His desire to make his gods more like gods than men delivered him from the thralldom of mere imitation, and made him more the master of the riches of his own sub-consciousness." The *Times* adds that it is as absurd to condemn the works of the Vorticists because they are not like any natural thing as it would be to condemn the fugues of Bach because they are not like any natural sounds : It may be that we are puzzled by it only because we have the habit of looking for likeness in sculpture and painting, and if we could free our minds and eyes of that habit, the musical meaning of it would be clear to us:

According, then, to the traditional Hindu view which Sukracharya has expressed, the sculptor of an image of Śiva should engage in meditation. To help the artist-devotee in his meditations there exists a body of contemplative verses (*dhyana slokas*), which set forth the distinguishing features of the particular manifestation of God desired and sometimes the spiritual meaning of the conception. The success of the artist would correspond to the extent to which he entered into the spirit of these conceptions and realized them in his own consciousness. The limitations of these conventions

need not, except to the mediocre, be a barrier to artistic expression, any more than the high formalism and convention of Greek tragedy hampered the genius of Sophokles or Euripides. *

In the *Dhyana Ratnavali* the devotee thus meditates on Siva as Nata-raja.

Sayapasmaratorddhva sthitapadavilasad
vamamuddhrityapadam

Jvalamalasamadhye natanaphanisamam vyaghra
padadisevyam

Bhasmoddhulitamangavidrumanibham hastagra-
padagrakam

Vahnim dolakarabhanam damarukam dhyatva
natesambhaje.

* There were also laid down for the apprentice-student certain canons of proportion in the ancient technical books on Art, known as the *Silpa Sastra*, of which the chief are Agastya Sakaladhikara, Kasyapiya, Sukranitisara, Sarasvatiya, &c. Some account of them will be found in the recently published work of Mr. O. C. Gangoly on 'South Indian Bronzes,' a valuable work (in spite of defects due to ignorance of Tamil and limited knowledge of Sanskrit) and one which it is not creditable to the English-educated Tamils of India and Ceylon to have left to a Bengali gentleman to write.

Since this paper was printed, I have seen the valuable work on *Hindu Iconography* by Mr. Gopinatha Rao of Travancore.

"Luminous foot on dormant Apasmara (a Titan) planted left foot raised, in the midst of a garland of flame, with dancing serpents, by Vyaghrapada and others worshipped, with ashes daubed, body of coral hue, tip of hand to tip of foot (pointing), fire, pendent hand, hand of refuge, drum :- (on these) meditating, I worship *Natesa* (Lord of the Dance)."

In another stanza Siva is meditated on together with his consort thus, and is called *Sabhesa*, the Lord of the (dancing) Hall.

Dhyayet kotiraviprabham trinayanam sitan-
sugangadharam

Dakshanghrithita vamakunchitapadam sardula
charmambaram

Vahnim dolakarabhayam damarukam vamesivam
syamalam

Kalharam japsraksukam katikaram devim sabhesam
bhaje.

"Meditate on Him, resplendent as a million suns, three eyed, wearer of the moon and the Ganges (on his head), right foot planted, left foot bent, in tiger-skin clad — fire pendent hand, hand of refuge, drum, —on the left the Lady Siva. dark of hue, water lily, rosary, parrot, hand on hip— the lady and the Lord of the Hall (*Sabhesa*) I worship."

Suddhasphatikasamkasam jatamakutamanditam

Makutamtrigunam nagam prabhamandala manditam

Dakshinamsusthitam padam vamaapadan tu kunchitam

Prasritamvamaasthan cha, dakshashastabhayapradam

Vamahaste sthitam vahnim dakshine damuram tatha
 Sarvabharanasamyuktam apasmaropraristhitam
 Vame gaurisamnyukatam trimbh*.....nchitam;
 (bhāje tryambakam ucchritam)

"Like pure crystal, adorned with crown of matted haircrown of the three *gunas*,† serpent, circle of flame, right foot planted, left foot bent, left hand stretched, right hand offering protection, fire in left hand, drum in the right, adorned with all ornaments, standing on Apasmara (the Titan), on the left to Gauri joined,
 (I worship the standing Siva').

Such meditations as these are materialized in the bronzes Nataraja and Sivakami, and for their correct understanding require some knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion and traditions, especially of the Saiva Siddhanta School, the basis of the Siva worship introduced into Polonnaruwa by the armies of Chola Kings. The Saiva Siddhanta system is the chief contribution of the Tamils to philosophy and religion, and in the opinion of the learned Dr Pope is "the most influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of the religions of India." This attempt to solve the problems of God, the soul, humanity, nature, evil, suffering and the unseen world is little known to Western scholars.

* The concluding words of the last line are imperfect in the original MS. and my friend, Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana, Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, has suggested the words in brackets instead.

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri
 † See footnote on *gunas*. p. 27.

Dr. Pope, † who devoted many years to the study and exposition of this system, Mr. J. M. Nallasami Pillai and others who have laboured in the same field have touched little more than the fringe. Only a brief outline, limited to the needs of this lecture, is possible here.

The Saiva Siddhanta postulates three entities, viz., God (*pati* பதி or இறை literally, Lord or King), the Soul or rather aggregate of souls (*pasu*, பசு, lit. cattle), and Bondage, (*pasam* பாசம்), the sum total of all those elements which fetter the soul and keep it from finding release in union with God. *Pasam* is, in one of its aspects (*malam*), the innate taint clinging to the soul from of old as verdigris to brass and corresponding in a way to the 'original sin' of Christianity ; in another aspect (*maya*) it is the material cause of the universe. The scheme of the universe has for its aim the removal of the soul's impurity and its union with the Lord. This is effected by His energy (*Sakti*, சக்தி or அருள் *arul*, Grace) which abides in Him inseparable from Himself and is the gracious instrument of His operations.

Though God and the soul are eternal entities, the Saiva Siddhanta takes great pains to make out that they are not two entities nor yet one, and calls itself Pure Non-dualism (*Suddhadvaita*), being equally removed from the

† For over half a century a missionary in South India and, latter, teacher of Tamil and Telugu at Oxford and chaplain of Balliol College. See especially his translations of the Saiva Psalms (*Tiruvachakam*) with the valuable notes thereon ; Nallasami Pillai's translations of *Siva - gnana - Bondam*, *Siva - gnana - Siddhiyar*, etc.

Dualism of such religions as Christianity, Mohammadanism and Vaishnavism and from the Monism of the Vedanta. God is often compared by the Saiva Siddhanta philosophers to the first letter A of the Tamil and Sanskrit alphabets, which represents the English sound *u* in *but*, the first sound that issues from the mouth when it opens. The sound underlies and energizes every other sound and is also a distinct and the first sound. So God pervades and energizes all souls and nevertheless stands apart, Himself, of all things, the source and the chief.

The *Siva-gnana-bodham*, the chief Tamil authority of this school, thus explains what the Vedas mean, when they say 'Ekam Sat,' 'All that is, is one'.

"One" say the Vedas.* Behold, it is said of the One. The One is the Lord, Thou, who sayest 'One', art the Soul. Lo, in bondage art thou. If the One were not,—. If vowel A were not, letters there would be none. In this wise say the Vedas "One."

"Like song and its tune, like fruit and its flavour, the Lord's energy everywhere pervadeth, non-dual. Therefore say the great Vedas not 'one' but 'not two.'"[†]

* Ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti (*Rig. Veda*, 1, 164-46). "All that is, is one. Poets call it by many names."

† ஒன்றென்ற தொன்றேகா னென்றே பதிபசுவா
மொன்றென்ற நீபாசத் தோடுகைகா - னென்றின்று
லக்கரங்க ளின்று மகரவுயி ரின்றே
விக்கிரமத் தென்னு மிருக்கு.

II. 2

பண்ணையு மோசையும் போலப் பழமதுவு
மெண்ணுஞ் சுவையும்போ லெங்குமா—மண்ணுள்
அத்துவித மாத லருமறைக ளொன்றென் னு
தத்துவித மென்றறைய மாங்கு.

II. 3

God thus permeates and vitalizes all things, has neither name nor form, is beyond speech and thought, time and space. This conception of the absolute is well brought out in the ordinary Tamil word for God கடவுள் (*Kadavul*), meaning that which transcends (*Kada*) all things and is the heart (*ul*) of all things. When the Absolute becomes manifest, it is as Force (*Sakti*, சக்தி or அருள்), of which the universe is the product, being from cycle to cycle evolved by Force from cosmic substance (*Maya*) and again involved. Hindu philosophers do not admit creation and destruction in the sense of production out of nothing and reduction to nothing. Their conception of creation which they call projection (*srishti*, சிருட்டி, தோற்றம் *torram*), and of destruction which they call contraction, involution or withdrawal (*samhara*, சங்காரம், ஒடுக்கம், *odukkam*), is more akin to Huxley's: "All the choir of heaven and the furniture of the earth are the transitory forms of parcels of cosmic substance, wending along the road of evolution from nebulous potentiality, through endless growths of sun and satellite, through all varieties of matter, through infinite diversities of life and thought, possibly through modes of being of which we neither have any conception nor are competent to form any, back to the indefinite latency from which they arose."*

Not brute and blind, however, but full of intelligence and grace is the Power which thus makes and unmakes, and which by the sages of India is accordingly regarded as the Universal Mother and, being inseparably inherent in God, is also called the Consort of God.

* Cf. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

அகிலாண்ட கோடி யீன்ற
வண்ணையே பின்னையுங் கண்ணியென மறைபேசு
மானந்த ரூப மயிலே.

“Mother of millions of world clusters,
Yet Virgin by the Vedas called.”†

This power is addressed by Chidambara Swami in the *Panchatikara vilakkam*, ‘Exposition of the Five Operations,’ in these words :

“My head I crown with lily feet of Sivakama Sundari,
Who with the Absolute inseparably is blended
As flower and scent, sun and ray, life and body,
As gem and lustre, form and shadow, word and
meaning,
Who to the manifested Lord as Consort shines,
Who ever cures the life-hunger†† of her children,
all living things,
With ceaseless bliss ambrosial feeding and in
Freedom’s mansion establishing.”

The various manifestations of this Power are grouped by the Saiva Siddhanta school under five heads, which are deemed the principal aspects of the great Mother and are called the Five Acts (*pancha kritya* ஐந்தொழில், *ain-tolil*) of God: (1) Projection or Evolution (*srishti*, சிருட்டி, தோற்றம் or படைப்பு) ; (2) Maintenance

† Tayumanavar, மலைவளர் காதலி.

†† பிறவிப்பசி, the liability of the soul to reincarnation and further development until it becomes ripe for union with God.

of Preservation (*sthiti* திதி, நிலை, காப்பு); (3) Withdrawal or Involution (*samhara*, சங்காரம், ஒடுக்கம்); (4) Veiling or Obscuration (*tiro-bhava*, மறைப்பு); (5) Grace (*anugraha* or *arul* அருள்). The evolving energy (Brahma, the Creator) evolves for each soul according to its deserts out of primordial substance a body (*tanu*), organs of knowledge and action (*karana*), pains and pleasures (*bhoga*) and spheres (*bhuvana*) to experience them in. The maintaining or preserving energy (Vishnu the Preserver) maintains them for a time for the soul's experience. The involving or destroying energy (Rudra, the destroyer) withdraws them and makes them disappear to be projected again. The obscuring energy (Mahesa) entangles the soul in them so that, unable to distinguish the real from the unreal, it identifies itself with its transitory envelopments, calling the body and the organs 'I' and the experiences and spheres 'mine.' When the soul has passed through the discipline of these experiences in many births, the gracious energy (Sadasiva) enlightens the ripened soul, delivers it from its delusion and bondage, establishing it in union with God, which is Freedom (*Moksha*, வீடு, *vidu*), the final goal and fulfilment of every soul.

In this union the soul, set free by the Holy Spirit (திருவருள்), the gracious energy of the Lord, from the influence of its innate taint and from the fettering consciousness of the senses, lives eternally in the conscious full enjoyment of His presence, "thrall to the Lord." (*Siva-gnana-bodham*, IX., 6.)

தனக்கு நிழலின்று மொளிகவருந் தம்ப

மெனக் கவைய நிலை நின்று. Digitized by eGangotri

"Like crystal pillar that absorbeth light (of sun at zenith) and hath no shadow, so no darkness remains to lay hold of him." (*Tiruvarutpayan*, 67)

The earliest manifestations of the Divine Energy are Vibration (*Nada*) and the word (*Vach*)* which is the Logos of St. John. Among the later manifestations the most venerated in India is Uma or Sivakami, beloved of Siva. According to an ancient tradition she appeared in response to the prayers of a Himalayan king as an infant floating in a golden lily lake and was thence taken and reared by the king until claimed by Siva. From this tradition she is also called Parvati, the Lady of the Mountain.

She is thus addressed by Tayumanavar in her esoteric and exoteric aspects :-

"Mansion and wealth, children and friends around
Splendour ever and throne, the certainty
That Death's dark messengers draw not nigh,
Wisdom's light, purity, wondrous powers—,
All these are mine, so with thy feet my thought
be one.†

Q Mother that hast Thy seat beside the dark-
throated Lord !‡

* Etymologically the Latin vox.

† "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." St. Matthew, VII, 33.

‡ Siva, whose throat is said to have been stained dark-blue with a dread poison, which would have destroyed the world if he had not swallowed it on its production at the churning of the ocean by the celestials for the nectar of immortality.

Light and bliss of knowledge supreme, that
swallowest religions as oceans rivers!

O Stillness, the Vedas' goal,

Thy form seen where Vibration ends,

O Wisdom, consumer of me and thought !**

Lady Uma, beauteous as the moon, Madhu
Sudana's sister,†

Who lovest mountain haunts and was born dear
to the Mountain-King as the apple of
his eye!§

'From the elements to Vibration Thou showedst
To me as false ; myself to me unveildest.

In the core of my intelligence standing,

'Stand still, free, in spirit-space all filling,

Without beginning, without end', Thou saidst,

And skilfully establish'dst me, O Mother

Who vouchsafest pure knowledge and bliss.

Yielding all the heart desireth.

Forgetting Thee can I, poor wretch, live ?

Darling of the three-eyed Lord*, of all ills

The panacea, beyond the reach of them

That lack the inner eye which illumineth

The Vedas and excellent Agamas,

** The sense of I, and thought with its correlative
sleep or oblivion, have to be consumed by the Holy
Spirit (*Sakti*), for the union of the soul with God.

† Vishnu.

§ Tayumanavar, மலைவளர் காதலி 1.

* Siva. See p. 93.

Beyond the deaf, who hear not the praise of thy
might

Beyond the stricken with the plague of controversy!
Lady Uma, who lovest mountain haunts and wast
born

Dear to the Mountain - king as the apple of his
eye !" †

Though Uma or Sivakami is the female manifestation of Siva, she, being his inherent energy, is inseparable part of him and is spoken of exoterically as the left part. Siva is thus both male and female, and one of his names is Ardha-Narisa, 'the half female Lord'. This recalls the old Orphic Hymn :-

Ζευς ἀρσενος γενεστο Ζευς ἀμβροτος ἐπλετο νυμφῇ
"Zeus was a male, Zeus was a deathless virgin,"

In token of the dual sex, Siva is represented as wearing in his right ear a man's ear-ring (*makara kundala*, குண்டலம் or குழை), and on the left a woman's (*tatanka* or *todu*, தோடு). In a popular psalm of Manikkavachakar, he sings :-

"The Lady is in Thee, and Thou art in the Lady ;
Ye both are in me your servant."

The mystic dance of Siva symbolized in the Nataraja bronzes is said to have been danced in a remote age in the forest of Darukavana after the overthrow of a body of heretics who, puffed up with the pride of learning and of skill in ritual and magic, regarded

themselves as independent of Siva's authority and self-sufficing. The dance was, it is said, repeated for the benefit of two devotees, Patanjali and Vyaghrapada, at Chidambaram or Tillai (in the South Arcot District of the Madras Presidency), which is therefore held in the highest reverence by the worshippers of Siva and is called *Koyil*, "The Temple" *par excellence*.

This *Skanda Purana* relates the legends of the dance in Darukavana (*Daksha Kanda*, Chapters XIII, and XIV ; and in Tamil, Kachchiappa Swami's *Kandapuranam*, *Daksha Kanda*, 30-127). The *Koyil Puranam* of Umapati Sivachariyar (written in the latter part of the 13th century) relates the legends of the dance at Chidambaram and the inauguration by King Hiranyvarma of a commemoration festival, which continues to be celebrated there every year on the sixth lunar asterism (*arudra*) of the month of Markali (December-January), and draws immense crowds of pilgrims. It is an important festival in every Siva temple in S. India and Ceylon.

The shrine at Chidambaram is unique in combining the exoteric and esoteric aspects of Siva worship. The Nataraja dancing the cosmic dance is separated from the Holy of Holies by a veil, which is seldom raised and only as a special boon to favoured individuals. There is then revealed mere space, the ether filling it being the symbol of God. But even this subtle, all-pervading element is deemed an inadequate symbol, for the ether is to the Hindu sages unintelligent matter (*jadakasa*, "material-space,") while God is *chid-akaśa*. "Spirit Space", pure being (*sat*), pure intelligence

(*chit*), pure bliss (*ananda*). Hence the mystic name of the shrine, *Chid-ambaram*, 'Spirit-space,' *ambaram* being another word for *akasa*.

Manikkavachakar, a great Saiva saint and apostle, whose figure in bronze was found at Polonnaruwa (Plate Xd.) and whose spiritual history was largely linked with the shrine, sings thus in one of his psalms (*Kirtti tiruvakaval*) :-

"The holy feet, that danced in the ancient city
Of Tillai, dance in all living things,
In beauty of infinite diversity shining,
Making, unmaking, earth and heaven
And worlds celestial and hosts of sciences,
Driving away my darkness and taking up
Loving abode in the hearts of His servants."

(After an enumeration of His gracious manifestations to them) :—

"The mighty Lord of Kailas' echoing peak
Who graciously maketh thrall of each and all
By contrivance meet, bade me, a dog,
Enter blissful Tillai's hall of glory,
Crushing the I in me to make me His."

The redemption of souls is thus regarded as the culmination of God's operations in the universe; and the dance, while symbolizing these operations, is believed to have its counterpart in the subjective experience of saints :—

"The silent mystics, rid of the three-fold taint,
And drinking deep the bliss that wells
Where self hath ceased, they behold the dance
Of our gracious Lord in the sacred hall. "*"

The hall is the devotees' heart, and the dance beyond
speech and thought.

கருதரிய சிற்சபையி லானந்த நிர்த்தமிடு கருணாகரக்க
டவுளே cries Tayumanavar. "O God, Ocean of Mercy,
that dances, the dance of bliss in the Hall of pure
Consciousness beyond the plane of thought ! "

Often, in the yearly commemorative festival referred
to above, you see male devotees dancing in ecstasy
in the attitude of the Nataraja. Probably in olden
times female devotees too, so danced. Here, e. g., is
a hymn put in the mouth of flower-girls in the
Tiru-vachakam (திருப்பாவல்வி, 5).

"Lord Siva, who weareth on his locks the *cassia*
o'er which the bees dance,
He came in the flesh, seeking me, and within
me entered,
That I might dance and dance and shout before
all the world
For Him, the eternal Dancer, King of the heavenly
hosts, gather we lilies".

* மோனந்த மாமுனிவர் மும்மலத்தை மோசித்துத்
தானந்த மாரிடத்தே தங்கியிடு மானந்த
மொண்டருந்தி நின்றிடல் காணுமருண் மூர்த்தியாய்க்
கொண்டதிரு வம்பலத்தான் கூத்து.

A hymn sung by Saint Manikkavachakar at Chidambaram and often recited in the temples (கோயிலற்றிருப்பதிகம்) well brings out the view of the Saiva Siddhanta, that temples and churches, usually regarded as Houses of God are but passages to the true House of God which is in man's heart "made beautiful by the flood of His Grace." When he has taken his abode there, all distinctions of race, religion, caste, sex, etc., disappear — "who here is my kin? who is not?" —and there is naught save the splendour of the Lord.

This experience, not beyond the grave but here in this life, is the goal of the devotee. The methods employed to gain it are called *Yoga*, a word etymologically the same as the English *Yoke* and meaning the yoking of oneself to God. *Bhakti Yoga*, the method favoured by the Saiva Siddhanta, seeks realization of God by the way of Love. This Yoga, the worship in the temples, with their service of song and prayer and music, sacraments and fasts and works of mercy, is designed to foster, gradually purifying the heart and making it fit to be the "House of God," His great holy shrine" (*Tirupperunturai*), "the City of Siva," or in the language of Jesus, "the Kingdom of God," of which he too said: "Behold the Kingdom of God is within you."

"O Supreme Splendour that rises within me welling
forth as ambrosia,

Having blocked the ways of the five traitor senses
that ever delude me,

Graciously show Thyself to me as Thou art,
Clearest of the clear, Lord Siva, Dweller in the
great holy shrine,

O bliss transcending all states without end, O my
Love !

With love Thy servant's body and soul melting
in bliss,

Sweet grace, by me not deserved, Thou didst grant.
For this I have naught to give in return.

O King, Father to me that am the servant of
those that love Thee.

Light of Truth that, entering body and soul, has
melted all faults and driven away the unreal
darkness,

Full, waveless, clear Ocean of Ambrosia, Siva,
Dweller in the great holy shrine,

O Knowledge† known there where speech and
knowledge‡ are dead,

Make known unto me, how shall I speak of Thee ?
Perfect Fulness, flawless Ambrosia, Mountain of
endless, flaming Light,

O King that camest unto me as the Vedas and the
meaning of the Vedas and didst fill my mind'

Siva that, like torrent brooking not banks,
rusheth into the mouth of my heart, Dweller
in the great holy shrine,

Sovereign Lord, Thou has made thy abode in my
body.

† Pure Intelligence, the Absolute, where there is
no conscious differentiation of subject and object.

‡ Impure Intelligence differentiating consciousness.

What more can I ask Thee ?

O Splendour that rises in my heart as asking,
asking I melt !

Thou whose lotus-feet grace the crowns of celestials, Siva, Dweller in the great holy shrine,

Who art all-pervading space and water and earth
and fire and air

Who art other than they, Whose form in them is
hidden, —

I rejoice, having seen them this day.

This day in Thy mercy unto me Thou didst drive
away the darkness and stand in my heart as
the rising Sun.

Of this Thy way of rising — there being naught
else, but Thou, — I thought without thought

Nearer and nearer to Thee I drew, wearing away
atom by atom, till I was One with Thee.

O Siva, Dweller in the great holy shrine.

Thou art not aught in the universe. Naught is
there save Thou

Who can know thee ?

Thou that, sprouting as the earth and a' the
spheres, spreadest as matchless expanse of
light,

Fire water-laden, Pure One beyond the reach of
thought,

Sweetness that wells forth in the heart made
beauteous by the flood of Thy grace,

Siva, Dweller in the great holy shrine,

Who here is my kin ? who is not ? O Splendour
that makes me bliss !"

V. Saivism of the Tamils

[Hereinbelow is printed a Note written by R. C. Zaehner. He was Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions in the University of Oxford from 1952 to 1975. His translation of The Bhagavad-Gita is hailed as a classic. He is also the editor of HINDU SCRIPTURES, an excellent anthology on Hinduism. It is under his direction Mariasusai Dhavamony wrote his famous work : "Love of God according to Saiva Siddhanta."

Like A. L. Basham he is interested in Tamil and Tamil Culture and has done much for its propagation. Ed.]

It was in the Tamil lands that Saivism developed its characteristic devotional form. This was the work of a series of saints who spread the gospel that salvation could only be won by a total self-surrender to Siva. By the end of the eleventh century the hymns of these saints had been collected together and given the title of *Devaram*, and this together with the *Tiruvacakam* or 'Sacred Utterance' of Manikka Vasagar and ancillary writings came to be known as the 'Tamil Veda'. These Saivite hymns are distinguished from their Vaishnavite counterparts by the extreme sense of unworthiness that the devotee feels in the face of the all-holiness of God. The philosophy of the *Saiva-Siddhanta*, which we have had occasion to refer to, is based as much on the *Svetasvatara* Upanishad as it is on the writings of the Tamil saints but it was the influence of the latter that made the writers of the *Saiva-Siddhanta* attach such enormous importance to the doctrine of grace freely given and the impossibility of spiritual progress without

love. The whole movement is an impassioned cry against the ossified ceremonial religion of the Brahmans and the ideal of 'passionlessness' that they shared with the Buddhists and Jains. It was against these last that they launched their passionate crusade in the name of the one True God, Siva. In the following stanzas Appar, perhaps the most moving singer of them all, denounces the hollowness of purely mechanical religion in terms that bring to mind the much later reformer Kabir.

Why bathe in Ganges' stream, or Kaviri ?

Why go to Comorin in Kongu's land ?

Why seek the waters of sounding sea ?

Release is theirs, and theirs alone who call

In every place upon the Lord of all.

Why chant the Vedas, hear the Sastras¹ lore ?

Why daily teach the books of righteousness?²

Why the Vedangas³ six say o'er and o'er ?

Release is theirs and theirs alone, whose heart

From thinking of its Lord shall ne'er depart.

Why roam the jungle, wander cities through ?

Why plague life with unstinting penance hard ?

Why eat no flesh, and gaze into the blue ?

Release is theirs, and theirs alone, who cry

Unceasing to the Lord of Wisdom high.

Why fast and starve, why suffer pains austere ?

Why climb the mountains doing penance harsh?

1. Sacred texts.

2. Law-books.

3. Subsidiary disciplines connected with the study of the Vedas.

Evil, all evil, my race, evil my qualities all,
 Great am I only in sin, evil is even my good.
 Evil my innermost self, foolish, avoiding the pure,
 Beast am I not, yet the ways of the beast I can
 never forsake.

I can exhort with strong words, telling men
 what they should hate,
 Yet I can never give gifts, only to beg them I know.
 Ah! wretched man that I am, whereunto came I
 to birth?

The realization of one's abjectness makes the
 freely given grace of God seem all the more wonderful,
 for what has the wholly self-sufficient to gain from
 association with one so foul? This wondrous self-
 giving of God is the theme of this stanza of Manikka
 Vasagar :

Thou gav'st thyself, thou gained'st me ;
 Which did the better bargain drive ?
 Bliss found I in infinity ;
 But what didst thou from me derive ?
 O Siva, Perundurai's God,
 My mind thou tookest for thy shrine :
 My very body's thine abode ;
 What can I give thee, Lord, of mine ?

The Tamil Saivite saints even more than the Alvars
 see in Nature the reflected glory of God, and the
 mating of animals brings to their minds the inseparable
 unity of all apparent opposites in the transcendental

Venny-nallur, in 'Grace's shrine'

South of the stream of Pennai, there,
My father. I became all thine ;
How could I now myself forswear ?

The soul loses its reason in the divine madness
and surrenders itself totally to the 'foolishness of God'
as St. Paul puts it. God becomes all in all and man
sees himself as nothing. All thoughts of liberation are
put aside in a passion of adoration for the dancing God.
In the words of Manikka Vasagar :

I ask not kin, nor name, nor place,

Nor learned men's society.

Men's lore for me no value has ;

Kuttalam's lord, I come to thee.

Wilt thou one boon on me bestow,

A heart to melt in longing sweet,

As years o'er new-born calf the cow,

In yearning for thy sacred feet ?

I had no virtue, penance, knowledge, self-control.

A doll to turn

At another's will I danced, whirled, fell. But me
he filled in every limb.

With love's mad longing, and that I might climb
there whence is no return,

He showed his beauty, made me his. Ah me, when
shall I go to him ?

Fool's friend was I, none such may know
 The way of freedom ; yet to me
 He shew'd the path of love, that so
 Fruit of past deeds might ended be.
 Cleansing my mind so foul, he made me like a god.
 Ah who could win that which the Father hath
 bestowed ?

Thinking it right, sin's path I trod ;
 But, so that I such paths might leave,
 And find his grace, the dancing God,
 Who far beyond our thought doth live,
 O wonder passing great ! — to me his dancing
 shewed.
 Ah who could win that which the Father hath
 bestowed ?

It was the Bhagavad-Gita that set in motion the transformation of Hinduism from a mystical technique based on the ascetic virtues of renunciation and self-forgetfulness into the impassioned religion of self-abandonment to God, but the strictly religious impulse which gave momentum to the whole *bhakti* movement stemmed from the Tamil lands of South India. From the tenth century on all that is most vital in Hinduism manifests itself in the form of *bhakti*.

VI. Vishnu and Rudra - Siva

[Jan Gonda (b. 1905) was Professor of Sanskrit and Indology, Utrecht University, The Netherlands. It is from his pen, the article here printed, issued.

Gonda is a prolific writer. ASPECTS of EARLY VISHNUISM, SANSKRIT IN INDONESIA, DIE RELIGIONEN INDIENS (two volumes), THE DUAL DEITIES IN THE RELIGION OF THE VEDA, TRIADS IN THE VEDA, THE WISDOM OF THE VEDIC POETS, VEDIC LITERATURE, VISHNUISM AND SIVAISM, THE RITUAL SUTRAS and MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT are some of his more famous books

He is an honorary member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and under his directions Indian scholars have indited theses. Ed.]

ONE OF THE ARGUMENTS which could be adduced in favour of the usual division of Indian culture into an older period, Vedism, and a later period, called Hinduism, would be that the former, at least at first sight, presents itself as a unity, whereas the latter is a varied and, already in the Mahabharata, a confused spectacle of beliefs and practices. On closer inspection it becomes clear however, first that many features of Hinduism have their roots in the Vedic past, and in the second place that it has been a few main currents which, from the very beginning up to the present day, have come into prominence and have largely determined the character of that many-sided and all-enfolding culture which we in the West have chosen to call Hinduism. There can be no

doubt whatever that these currents must, when viewed from their doctrinal and philosophical aspects be considered first and foremost soteriologies, and that they also present many aspects which make them worth studying from the angles of philosophy and sociology. This does not however prevent us from calling Vishnuism and Sivaism as they presented, and still present, themselves to their adherents, religions. It will, in this series of lectures, be my endeavour to institute a comparison between these two Indian religions, Sivaism and Vishnuism. That is not to say that I shall overlook the fact that neither current is in itself a unity. There is, within Vishnuism, a considerable difference between, for instance, the theories and the ritualism of the Vaikhanasas in the South and the devotionalism of the followers of Caitanya in Bengal, and Virasaivism, flourishing in Karnataka, has rejected the traditional brahmanical rites which the Saiva-Siddhanta has in many respects, retained. Nevertheless there is a Sivaism and there is a Vishnuism and it will be part of my task—while comparing these religions and drawing attention to parallel or divergent developments, to the common heritage and interrelations—to bring out what is common to all forms of each of the two great religious currents.

Considering myself absolved from the obligation to give a regular account of the main relevant facts such as those relating to the history of Vishnu and Siva worship from the earliest times, the mythological concepts to which their figures have given rise, their iconography in plastic arts and the philosophical and theological doctrines developed in the communities of their

worshippers, I would like to make an attempt at instituting, in a series of more or less condensed studies, a somewhat detailed comparison between those aspects of both religious currents which in the last years have attracted my special attention. Since it cannot even be my purpose to treat all important questions or to deal adequately with all periods of the religious history of India, I intend to dwell especially upon some significant points which have perhaps not been sufficiently stressed in the publications of my predecessors. I hope that a certain personal preference for definite problems and definite periods or phases in the development of Saivism and Vaishnavism will not be beyond forgiveness.

It may be true in our oldest document, the Rgveda, Vishnu occupies but a subordinate position, his personality — to use this term in this connection — is at the same time not only more important there than would appear from the number of the occurrences of his name in this text, but is also in its striking features sufficiently clean-cut and, moreover, in remarkable harmony with the god's image as given by the later sources. Rudra also has from the very beginning a character and even a position of his own and some important features in the later Siva can likewise be said to emerge from the Vedic texts with all clearness desirable.

It is therefore interesting to compare the most important traits of character of both gods as far as they appear from the Vedic *samhitas*. It has long ago been observed that the only anthropomorphic traits of Vishnu are his often-mentioned three strides and his being a

youth (RV. 1, 155, 6). These essential features of his character, to which he owes epithets such as 'swift' and 'wide-striding', make him known to us as the immense (RV. 7, 99, 1; 2) god of far-extending motion who — for man in distress, to make his existence possible — penetrates and traverses the spaces whereas his highest step or abode is beyond mortal ken, in his dear and highest resort, the bright realm of heaven. While all beings dwell in these three strides or footsteps (RV. 1, 154, 2), the highest is the place of a well of honey, where rejoice the gods and those men who turn to the gods. Of Rudra, the terrible, dreadful one, on the other hand, quite a number of physical features are recorded: arms, hand, limbs, lip, eyes, mouth, tongue, etc.; he wears braided hair (1, 114, 1; 5,) his colour is brown (e g. 2, 33, 5), his belly black and his back red. Frequent mention is made of his weapons, and these are weapons of offence. On Vishnu's disk and club the oldest texts are, however, silent. Rudra is clothed in a skin and haunts and dwells in mountains, an abode also attributed to Vishnu. But while the passage VS. 16, 2-4 in which this feature is emphasized tries to induce Siva to show his auspicious aspect and to prevent him from injuring men, and while forests, mountains and wilderness are the sphere of his destructive activities, Vishnu's association with the mountains, where he is said to have been born and of which he is the ruler, impresses us as beneficial to human interests: the defeat of Vrta is, for instance, repeatedly said to have taken place in the mountains, which, however, seem to be an element of the scenery of the 'Urzeit'.

Vishnu is benevolent, never inimical (RV. 1, 186, 10), and a friend and ally of Indra whom he assists in slaying the great fiend and antagonist Vṛtra, the representative of chaos and in spreading out the spaces between heaven and earth (RV. 6, 69, 5). Both gods are sometimes so intimately associated as to form a sort of dual deity, Indravishnu and to participate in each other's qualities and activities Rudra, on the other hand, has no special friend among the gods. Only once he appears associated with Soma (RV. 6, 74), not directly because of his formidable nature but because he is supposed to be able to avert illness, destruction and other manifestations of evil. And he enjoys this reputation owing to his dreadful power of sending and causing fever, evil and disaster, to his fierceness, malevolence and destructiveness. However much the poets try to deprecate his wrath—impending also when there is no offence—they do not hesitate to mention his bad points: he is a cheat, deceiver and lord of robbers, and most statements of his power occur in appeals for mercy.

Their relation to the demoniac powers and the Maruts is in this connection of special interest. Whereas Vishnu is engaged in vanquishing the demons, Rudra does not come into conflict with them. As to the not-individualized group of the Maruts, as Indra's brilliant allies and attendants they enter into association with Vishnu, but Rudra, who is repeatedly said to be their father, is never drawn into the warlike activities of these deities who, though occasionally showing the malevolent traits of their father, are on the whole benefactors of man and world. Rudra is, on the contrary, the chief of an

indefinite host of partial manifestations of his own nature which, like this god (in the singular) himself may make their numinous presence felt everywhere and at any time. He moreover maintains intimate relations with the great mass of demoniac beings. In this connection it is interesting to notice also that, whereas Vishnu—he may assume various forms—is so to say one single individual, Rudra has in these ancient texts some doubles, which are sometimes identical with him—thus *Sarva* and *Bhava* in *VS* 16, 18; 28—sometimes are described as distinct from him.

There is one god with whom both Rudra. (e.g. *A.V.* 7, 87, 1) and Vishnu (e.g. *RV.* 2, 1, 3) are identified. But here also the difference is obvious. Rudra is said to be, i.e. to manifest himself in, or as, fire: 'Agni is Rudra; just as a tiger stands in anger, so he also (stands)' (*TS.* 5, 5, 7, 4) — Vishnu's relations with the god of fire are co-operative and complementary in nature: they are for instance invoked conjointly and both of them are, in a *brahmana*, it is true (*A/B.* 1, 4, 10, lords and guardians of the consecration, which they confer on man. Besides, Agni is the sacrificial fire and Vishnu the sacrifice (*TS.* 2, 29, 1), and both gods rejoice in the sacrificial butter (*AV.* 7, 29).

Extending our inquiries to the later parts of Vedic literature we see that Rudra's malevolence still more prominent. He houses in forests and jungles, in places where man falls a victim to fright and terror. He is the lord of the wild animals, which are said to be a manifestation of his cruel nature (*SB.* 12, 7, 3, 20), and the patron of those who hold aloof from the Aryan

society and its way of living. In contradistinction to the other gods who are believed to live in the East, Rudra dwells in the North, the region of dangerous mountains. His isolated position is emphasized by the myth according to which he remained behind when the other gods succeeded in attaining heaven by ritual means (*SB.* 1, 7, 3, 1). He is indeed excluded from the normal soma cult, but receives informal balls (offerings of food thrown on the ground), often also the remainders of oblations, or what is injured in the sacrifice (*SB.* 1, 7, 4, 9); besides, he has some sacrificial rites of his own. His cult requires precaution and he is appeased (*RV.* 2, 33, 5, etc.), that is to say one gives him offerings in order to get rid of him. The benevolent or rather merciful aspects of his ambivalent nature find on the other hand expression in some epithets such as Sambhu 'the beneficent or kind one' and Siva : (*VS* 3, 59; 63) 'Siva is thy name; thou art a healing medicine, forbear to do me harm'. This epithet—which is already given to him at *RV.* 10, 92, 9 — is however also applied to other gods, without being peculiar to any particular figure.

With regard to Vishnu it is important to notice that in the brahmanas his relations with the sacrifice are evident and of special practical consequence for the Vedic worshipper : he is the sacrifice itself (e. g. *SB.* 14, 1, 1, 6) and the sacrificer who imitates his great cosmic act, by which he obtained for the gods the ability to manifest their power everywhere, viz. his three strides, gains, whilst identifying himself with the god, the three provinces of the universe to attain heaven (*SB.* 1, 9, 3, 9 f. ; 15).

I shall not repeat here what has in many books and articles been said on the so-called original character of these gods, or rather what has a bearing on the kernel of the Rudra and Vishnu conceptions. Let it suffice to say that in my opinion the essence of the former was, in the minds of Vedic men, power of the uncultivated and unconquered, dangerous, unreliable, unpredictable, hence much to be feared nature, experienced as a divinity. His very character lent itself admirably to splitting up into partial manifestations as well as to assimilation or divine or demoniac powers of cognate nature, were they Aryan or non-Aryan. It hardly needs saying that the class poetry of the Rgveda does not show us the whole Rudra and that the later Veda has recorded more popular traits; the conclusion that those features which are foreign to the earliest corpus did not exist at the time of its compilation is, I am convinced, inadmissible.

The solution of the much debated and often wrongly posed question as to the so-called origin of the Vishnu conception—we had better inquire after the core and essence of the god's nature as understood by Vedic man—has very often on too onesidedly naturalistic lines of argument been supposed to lie in an interpretation as a solar deity. Yaska (*Nir.* 12, 19) cited already an authority who identified the god's striding with the diurnal course of the sun. I must confess that in the course of time my own ideas of this question have considerably evolved. Although I am still inclined to assume that there is much truth in the time-honoured interpretation of the god's character as representing pervasiveness and spatial extensiveness,

and especially that pervasiveness which is essential to the establishment and maintenance of our cosmos and beneficial to the interests of men and gods, I would now hesitate to add that 'the general idea originally underlying this central mythical act seems to have been the eternal phenomenon of the pervading and omnipresent, mighty and blessing stream of celestial light, warmth, and energy'. At the moment I would lay greater emphasis upon the pervasiveness as such which was believed to manifest itself in a great variety of phenomena and on the god's relations to the *axis mundi*.

This is not to say that I am convinced by that interpretation of the function and significance of the god which was some years ago proposed by my esteemed colleague and compatriot Kuiper, who, focussing his readers' attention almost exclusively on the Rgveda there to find the truest image of the god's character and on his supposedly principal cosmogonic significance, regards him as the ambiguous mythological figure which, occupying the central place in the cosmic classificatory system and thus standing between the two parties of the Vrtra-fight, nevertheless turned the scale in favour of Indra. It is true that Vishnu is closely associated with the *dhruva dik* — which is not the nadir, but the fixed or central quarter, that is the central place on the earth under the zenith — but one does not see in the texts that the relation between Indra in the South (AV. 3, 27, 2), Varuna, the great asura — who however plays no part in the Vrtra combat — in the West and Vishnu in the centre is developed into a coherent system or has any significance in Indra's

great cosmogonic achievement and the ensuing organisation of our cosmos. I am rather inclined to suppose that Vishnu's undeniable relations with the centre may be interpreted otherwise. Although I am disposed to admit that the centre represents 'the totality of the parts distributed over the four quarters', I do not think that this is its full import. We now know that from the point of view of archaic religions this centre or navel (ομφαλος) is the place in which the *axis mundi*, the central pillar or frame of creation, reaches the earth, putting the cosmic levels into communication and constituting a means of 'travelling' to heaven as well as a canal through which the heavenly blessings may penetrate into the abode of men. Vishnu may even be considered as representing this cosmic pillar itself: he is for instance (RV. 7, 99, 2) explicitly said to sustain the upper component of the universe, a well-known function of that pillar. His vertical pervasiveness is moreover illustrated by the fact that the *yupa*—the sacrificial post which in definite rites is mounted by the sacrificer to reach heaven and which may be considered a representative of this axis—belongs to him and that he lives in the mountains, another manifestation of the axis and a place where heaven and earth meet.

Nor is it clear to me why Vishnu should be the 'unity' of the two antagonistic parties, upper world and nether worlds', standing in, and being of each of these two world, and belonging consequently also to the gods of the nether worlds, whom he could not fight, as Indra did 'because'—I quote Kuiper — 'these two were part of his essence'. But even the Rgveda describes him as destroying demons (7, 99, 4 f.) and

states (1, 155, 6) that Vishnu goes to war, that accompanied by Indra he forces open the cattle-shed of Vala, the mythological duplicate of Vrtra (1, 156, 4). As far as I am able to see there is no textual evidence of Vishnu's arising from the nether world and subsequent standing on the mountain or mountains. I would rather say that Vedic man considered him to be present in any part of the cosmic axis: his is, at the lower end, the *yupa*, and the brahmans constantly identify him with the sacrifice which is located in the navel of the earth; at the upper end is his high domain or 'protectorate'; as the god of three seats (*trisadhastha*: 1, 156, 5) he manifests himself also in the middle. Hence also, I would suppose, Vishnu's relations—sometimes even matrimonial relations—with Aditi, whose womb he protects; this womb, which is explicitly identified with the navel of the earth (VS: 1, 11), but which is more than that, namely the 'place of universal creation', because Aditi—whose name in all probability means 'Freedom'—manifests her nature not only in the earth but in any broad and wide expanse in the generative and life-sustaining nature, in any expansion of phenomenal life. Vishnu on the other hand, far from being a static representative of the axis, creates, while striding widely and traversing the universe, the room, which is indispensable to that expansion.

If it be permitted to prolong this digression for a moment, I would repeat that I am unable to read in the texts that Vishnu rose up from the nether world to which he originally belonged at the very moment when the dual world was, by Indra's great achievement

created. It is Indra who called on his companion and associate for co-operation, asking him to stride, for him, Indra, over a great distance, or as the Brhaddevata (6, 122 f.) has it: Going to Vishnu Indira said : "I wish to slay Vrtra. Stride forth to-day and stand at my side. Heaven must make room for my outstretched bolt." Saying "Yes", Vishnu did so So Vishnu's activity preceded Indra's fight with Vrtra which in its turn made the organization of our world possible.

It is also in this connection that mention is (RV. 8, 12, 27) made of *three* strides, the well-known and obviously most important feature in Vishnu's traversing moment. From the Rgvedic references to this activity it does not however emerge that the first step or only the first step, was taken in the nether world or corresponds to it. On the contrary, the poets do not omit stating that Vishnu has taken his strides from the same place as the Maruts who exert their influence in the higher atmosphere (RV. 5, 87, 4) and from that place from which the gods are expected to promote man's interests (1, 22; 16). Although the poets do not indeed lay much stress on the exact places where the steps were taken, they are quite explicit in describing them as establishing the broad dimensional actuality of the earthly space, or in stating that the god strode out on the earth (AV. 12, 1, 10). There is no doubt much truth in the explication of the number three as expressing the idea of totality and therefore referring to the expansion of the whole earth or even of the whole universe, but it is very doubtful whether the relevant texts may be supposed to point to an ascending movement of the god. Yet one of the

poets (RV. 7, 99, 1) makes a distinction between 'both terrestrial spaces' of the god known to men—which has been rightly explained as earth and atmosphere—the highest, of which Vishnu himself has knowledge. The texts do not say that the third step represents all three movements, they state that there is a highest step, station or abode of Vishnu—the term *padam* admits of all these translations—which may be seen for ever by the successful sacrificers (RV, 1, 22, 20), and is also called his dear domain or protectorate; there is a spring of honey, i. e. the draught of immortality (1, 154, 5) and there is the god's *bandhu*, which means that the god who is active in the universe is closely and mysteriously connected with that 'place', which is practically 'heaven'. There is nothing to prevent us from assuming that there is the 'place beyond space' (7, 100, 5), where the god is said to reside.

As is well known there has been a tendency, even since the oldest Yajurvedic texts and the pre-Yaska interpreters of the Rgveda, to connect Vishnu's strides with the triple division of the universe (sky or heaven, earth and what is between them). It is however doubtful whether this interpretation can be called a merely naturalistic one. And it may, on the other hand, be true that the poets of the Rgveda, in connection with these strides, never refer to this triple division, it is dangerous to rely on the *argumentum esilentio* and to isolate the Rgveda too much from the other Vedic literature. We should moreover always be aware of the fact that the Rgveda is first and foremost a religious document and that the cosmographic and cosmogonic details contained in it are not represented with a view

to describe the universe or to explain its origin in a scientific or philosophical way. What was relevant was to know if the Great Pervader has really pervaded the *whole* universe in which he is worshipped and if men also were safe in these three steps (VS. 23, 49 f.; cf. RV. 1, 154, 2), that is. in this world, as it was relevant to know for certain that out of the primordial chaos Indra — I do not mention other gods whose names are sometimes recorded in this connection — with Vishnu's help produced and organized this cosmos. This fact must always be commemorated and celebrated because thus man substantially contributes to the maintenance, renewal and reproduction of the creation of this god who always remains, *hic et nunc*, 'an active promoter of positive values and beneficial processes in this world.

In a similar way Vishnu's activity for the welfare of gods and men is celebrated in the hope that he will continue to create safety and room to live in for the latter and to win *vikranti*, i.e. the power to display their beneficent activities for the former. Moreover, as the traversing and pervading god *par excellence* Vishnu does not only make room for man's sacrifice to reach the powers of heaven (RV. 7, 99, 4), but also helps the sacrificer (1, 156, 5), brings him wealth and other valuables and conducts him along undangerous paths to a state of safety (6, 69, 1 ; 8, 77, 10). He is also often allied with that important power of life which circulates in the universe, is the main element of the sacrifice and imparts divine life, that is to say, with the soma. He is therefore on the one hand implored to fill his hands from the sky, the earth and the vast wide

atmosphere, and to bestow objects of value from the right and from the left (AV. 7, 26, 8)—his traversing movement was no doubt supposed to expand also on the horizontal plane — and on the other expected to lead, as the sacrifice — or simply as the traverser —, man upwards so as to rescue him from all evil. For last but not least Vishnu is the god who acquired for the sacrificer that all-pervading power which is characteristic of his own nature : by ritually imitating the god's strides the sacrificer gains the earth, the aerial expanse, and heaven, to reach 'the goal, the safe foundation (*pratistha*), the highest light'. The sacrificer, duly consecrated and taking these strides, *is* Vishnu and the strides lead him to the highest goal. Although in this connection these three strides may impress us as symbolizing an analysis for ritual purposes of the totality expressed by the three strides, they are in my opinion not exactly coordinated with the three parts of the visible universe. because the third stride does not lead to the firmament, but into heaven. That that highest step or place is also described as being extended like the eye in heaven (RV. 1, 22, 20) is of course no counter-argument.

As far as I can see now, the power complex experienced by Vedic man as the presence and the activity of a personality called Vishnu may to sum up, best be described as the 'idea' of universal penetration or pervasiveness, as the axis mundi and otherwise, of the omnipresence of a mighty and beneficent energy, in which all beings abide and which essentially contributes to the maintenance of those conditions and those processes in the universe on which man's

life and subsistence depend. Among these are also the processes connected with fertility and procreation which I have not stressed in the foregoing.

Let us continue our exposition of the main facts relating to the development of both divine figures in the following centuries.

As to Rudra the tendency to adopt this outsider by emphasizing his benevolent aspects and putting him on a par with other gods continues. Already in the Rgveda a deprecation, a request not to send disease but to approach kindly, may combine with the expression of his sovereign might, which enables him to come into contact with the race of the celestial powers (RV. 7, 46, 2). Whilst, in the Pravargya ritual, the formula 'Hail to Rudra' is even without offering, pronounced, 'lest the god should do harm' (SB. 14, 2, 2, 38), in the ritual of the royal consecration Rudra Pasupathi is beside Agni Grhapati, Soma Vanaspati, Brhaspati Vak, Mitra Satya, etc., one of the recipients of oblations (SB. 5, 3, 3, 1 ff). The frequent appeal to him for help in case of disease—of which he may be the originator—may have contributed much to his gaining access, as the god who grants remedies, to a circle of honourable deities who preside over other spheres of human interest: one must, for instance, sacrifice to Agni, the despoiler, if one finds a forest-fire in one's way; to Pusan the pathmaker, if one is to undertake a journey: to Rudra, if there is a multitude of diseases, etc., in the morning litany he should (according to the Sankhayana-Srautasutra, 6, 3, 4) be addressed, together with Soma, as the regent of the

North, on an equal footing with Mitra and Varuna, the regents of the West, Indra and Brhaspathi and other powers who are besought to grant their protection in the other regions of the universe. Moreover, as the leader of a host of minor deities Rudra is, according to the Satapatha-Brahmana, to be considered a chief *ksatrah*. In some important brahmanas his figure indeed appears to have acquired special importance and a reality different from that of many other members of the pantheon. Later on, the author of the Brhadaranyaka-Upanisad (1, 4, 11) regards him as one of the *ksatrah* among the gods, his colleagues being Indra, Varuna, Soma, Parjanya, Yama, Mrtyu and Isana. These gods, it is said, represent *ksatram*, ruling power, which is called "an excellent manifestation". Elsewhere in the same text Parjanya, Aditya and Indra admit him as a partner (2, 7, 2). An important factor in the process of Rudra's growth—which should not however be one-sidedly emphasized—is his identification with the mighty god of fire, Agni, and which may, in a sense, point to a process analogous to Vishnu's appropriating part of the greatness of Indra. In a later upanisad (*PrU.* 2, 9) the god is together with Indra, Surya and other gods said to be an aspect of the universal life or vital power, the most essential of all powers, on which everything is firmly established (2, 6), whereas another upanisadic author, discussing the nature of the Atman—that is the Supreme universal Soul, identical with Brahman, of which every intelligent being is a partial individuation—equates him with a considerable number of divine powers, among whom are not only Indra and Savitar, but also Isana, Bhava and Samanu—**aspects or partial manifestations of**

Rudra's nature — Prajapati, Vishnu and Narayana (*MaiU.* 6, 8; 7, 7). Meanwhile this development had culminated in those particular circles which produced the Svetasvatara-Upanisad. This work will claim our special attention in the next lecture.

At the same period, in which Rudra-Siva was gradually reaching the supreme rank, the Vishnu of our texts had likewise been advanced to a higher position. His relations, or community of interests, with Prajapati, which date already from Rgvedic times, are intensified. Whereas the oldest upanisads added nothing important to his history, those of the second period which possibly were, roughly speaking, compiled about the same time as the Bhagavadgita or somewhat later, begin to recognize him as a supreme monotheistic God. In the Maitrayaniya - Upanisad he is not only one of the chief 'bodies' of Prajapati or a manifestation of that one overlord who is the totality (*sarvah kascit prabhuh*), but is also called the Supreme Light, which is unmoving, free from death, unwavering and stable, pure griefless bliss. One place is of special interest, because it contains a stanza which with slight variation occurs also in the Brhadaranyaka: 'The face of the True-and-Real is covered with a golden vessel; uncover it, O Pusan, in order to see him whose (that of which the) normal behaviour-and-observance is the True-and-Real.' Instead of the last words (*satyadharmaya drstaye*) the Maitrayaniya reads *satyadharmaya vishnave* which must mean 'in order to (establish contact with) Vishnu whose normal and fundamental conduct consists in being the True-and-Real'. Satyadharman, in the Rgveda an epithet of Agni, Varuna, Savitar, is, in the Mahabharata, among

the thousand names of Vishnu. Nevertheless it is quite true that many phases in the long process of Vishnu's rise to the highest position have completely disappeared from our sight. That his ancient functions, known to us from a regrettably limited number of references in the *samhitas*, have, in their totality and as a whole, contributed much to this process seems indisputable.

There would be little sense in repeating what may be read in every History of Hinduism on these gods as they present themselves to us in the epic period. Suffice it, to say that both Vishnu and Siva are, in the epics, ambiguous figures, being on the one hand deities with heroic traits of character and, on the other, rising to supramundane dignity, representing or tending to represent the Supreme Being. Not rarely it is not at all clear whether they are to be regarded as *devas* or as the supreme God, whether, for instance, Siva's protection is to be sought because he is the boon-giving Lord, the omnipresent soul and creator of the universe and the embodiment of its three divisions or because he is the great *deva* of frightful aspects who has now also become a conqueror of demoniac power. Both gods are now endowed with all divine qualities imaginable and have become the central characters in mythical tales which will enthrall the minds of many generations to come. Both are adored by other gods, Vishnu also by his fellow *Adityas* of whom he is the youngest and in accordance with the well-known 'youngest-smartest' motif of mythical tales also the greatest. Neither of them had however, in the last centuries before and the first

centuries after the beginning of our era, ascended to the zenith of his power and dignity. Leaving Krishna and the other doubles of his personality out of consideration Vishnu plays, in his own name, a less important part in the epics than his rival who—although mention is still, but rarely, made of a distinct deity Rudra—is now almost generally known as Siva, notwithstanding, it is true, his 'doubles' or partial manifestations continue to be distinguished: 'To Pasupati, to Siva, to Samkara. Both of them retain striking features which they possessed already in the Vedic past, but absorb, as supramundane figures, other divine beings. Those who adore the Sun are for instance said actually to worship Siva and Vishnu has now taken over Indra's task to fight demons and perform heroic deeds. Becoming the typical fighter for the gods it is he who after recovering the *amrita* from the *asuras* defeated them with his discus. The idea of *avatars* — incarnations in order to rehabilitate the world — is in course of development, but his benevolence is rarely in doubt and he essentially remains actively interested in the welfare and prosperity of man and the world. Siva, uncanny, wrathful and incalculable, not rarely terrible, fierce and impetuous, famous for his preponderantly destructive energy, is still a much feared author of mischief. That certain circles continued to regard him as an outsider standing apart from the other gods may appear from the popular story of Daksa's sacrifice. But he is an ambivalent god: the early epic recognizes him as an ascetic, rapt in the contemplation of his own unfathomable being who, though performing terrific austerities, is also often willing to grant boons and to confer favours upon his

worshippers. His phallic aspect, attesting to his ability for unlimited production, which archaeological finds show us to have existed already in the 1st century B. C., is not unknown to the Mahabharata. In the Ramayana references to his divine power and greatness are not wanting, but most of these occur in similes referring to his destructive activities in battle, etc.; in any case they do not indicate that he was regarded as supreme. In short Vishnu is, generally speaking, a friend nearer to man, Siva a lord and master, ambivalent and many sided.

The Indians were always inclined to father religious, philosophical or sociological doctrine upon superhuman authorities. In the great epic it is not only Krshna who himself preaches his religion and soteriology, but also Vishnu who, appearing, after a sacrifice, in the form of Indra, expounded the *dharma* of the ksatriyas, resolving the doubts of the kings about the application of the *dandaniti*. Sivaite parallels are not wanting: Siva is described as promulgating the Pasupata doctrine and the science of *dandaniti*, the administration of justice.

Part of the events narrated in connection with these gods is to explain epithets or traits of their character and these tales are of special interest because—though as a rule etymologically or historically wrong—they are a welcome source of information on the beliefs and convictions of those who invented and divulged them. Thus Siva is also called Nilakantha because he swallowed the poison *kalakuta*, or, according to a variant tale explaining the colour of his neck,

Sitikantha because Narayana seized him by the throat which became dark. Part of these explanations actually are reinterpretations: thus his name Sthanu—which characterizes him as the motionless one and is often connected with his ascetic performances—is also attributed to his ithyphallic character, and his name Tryambaka to his love for three goddesses, viz the sky, the waters and the earth.

The names and epithets attributed to these two figures are indeed especially instructive. We may, to begin with, distinguish between those names which are of more or less frequent occurrence and those which are only rarely given to them. As to the former category it strikes us that only a few names of a very general character and applicable to any divine being of rank are given to both figures: Aja 'the unborn One, i. e. the Eternal; Ananta 'the infinite One' the untranslatable Bhagavat; Devasrestha 'the best of the gods'; Isana 'the Lord' (mostly, it is true, of Siva); Mahesvara 'the great Lord'; Yogesvara; Satya, i. e. he who is and acts in conformity with the true and real. To those other names which are really distinctive belong in the first place some that are old and traditional: Bhava, Pasupati, Rudra, Sankara, Sarva in the case of Siva, Hari, and Vaikuntha in the case of Vishnu, and for the most part these originally belonged to doubles or *Teilwesenheiten* of the gods or to manifestations of divine power which in the course of time came to fuse with them. In Siva's case some pre-epic (originally adjectival) names reveal to us various aspects of his nature; Ugra 'the Powerful', Bhima 'the Formidable', Hara 'the Seizer',

but also Midhvas 'the Bountiful'. Interestingly enough, authorities observe that names such as Brahman, Paramatman and Bhagavan, when applied to Vishnu, do not refer to three persons but to one divine person in different aspects. Other names are indicative of their relations with other gods : thus Vishnu is Indranuja 'Indira's younger brother', Siva Bhutapati 'the lord of divine and demoniac beings of lower rank'; of their outward appearance : Siva, the ascetic, wears matted locks, braided or tufted hair and is therefore called Jatila, Kapardin, Sikhin ; is naked : Digvasas or clad in skins : Krttivasas ; he has three eyes : Trayaksa. Vishnu has four arms : Caturbhuja ; is lotus-eyed : Padmalocana and from his navel he produces the lotus from which arose the creator Brahma : Padmanabha. The names may be related to their weapons or attributes : Siva is armed with the trident or his peculiar weapon called *pinaka*, hence his being Sulabhr̥t, Sulapani, etc., Pinakin, etc. (also Dhanvin 'the one with the bow'), Vishnu with the discus : Cakrapan̥t etc. Siva is also, and frequently, Vrsabhadhvaja 'the one who has a bull on his banner' or Vrsabhavahana 'the one who has a bull as his vehicle', or Nandisvara 'the master of the bull Nandin', Vishnu however is only once called Garudadhvaja. Part of their names are connected with their deeds or achievements, thus Siva is the destroyer of Tripura, the triple city of the *asuras*, and hence called Tripuraghna etc., and Vishnu is known as Janardana, because, an epic poet says (*Mbh.* 5, 68, 6), he strikes terror into the demons, or as the killer of Madhu : Madhuhan. Siva is also called after the divine woman with whom he now has entered into a regular alliance, Umapati, Gaurisa, and

Vishnu is in his epithets variously associated with Sri. Interestingly enough Vishnu, not Siva is, in the great epic, known as Acintya 'the Inconceivable', Anadi 'the Eternal', Vibhu 'the one whose might and sovereignty extend far and pervade all', a term applied in the Mundaka-Upanishad (1, 1, 6) to the imperishable source of all existence, the substantive *vipruti* coming into use for Vishnu's divine and universal power and dignity and as Acyuta which characterizes him as the Immovable and Unwavering One. Siva is on the other hand often known as the great god or lord : Mahadeva, Mahesvara, and incidentally, Mahaghora, Mahakarman, etc., although epic authors give these names sometimes also to Vishnu Krsna.

A well-known literary and liturgical form of praise, adoration and magnification of a god consists in pronouncing his names and epithets. This is at the same time a device for meditatively identifying oneself with aspects of the god's nature : Vishnu is even supposed to grant final emancipation to him who mentally recites his names. Shorter or longer enumerations are found already in the Veda. The names may, as in the Vedic Satarudriya hymn, be embedded in prayers, homage and references to the god's might or consist, like the largely stereotyped *sahasranamastotras* of Hinduism, of a sort of general description of the god's character or of a mere enumeration of names and epithets. In many circles this 'prayer of names' came to be one of the most characteristic expressions of devotion, its mental recitation being an excellent protective against evil which however easily degenerated into verbal magic,

What strikes us in these enumerations of 'a thousand names' is that both gods have a comparatively small number—about eighty—of epithets and surnames in common. Some of these belong to well-known ancient deities who are equated to the two representatives of the Highest (Vayu, Yama, Dhatar), or are ancient epithets of other exalted beings (Sahasraksa 'with a thousand eyes'), some are divine titles of a more general character expressing aspects of divinity or superiority (Ananta, Ugra, Bhanu, Bhavana, Santa, Srestha, Kala, Danda, Dhruva, Guru, Gopati, Guha, Gambhira, Sarva, Sthira, Sthavira, Varada, Bhu, Bhutatman, Marga, Ksobhana, and of course Deva, Prabhu, Isana, Isvara); there is a honorific epithet such as Sumukha 'fair-faced' or a philosophical term such as Karana 'the one who causes'; both gods are sometimes equated with brahman, and elsewhere Vishnu bears the names Rudra, Sarva and Siva, which traditionally belong to his colleague, a point worth investigating in full detail. The other names, those which are exclusively given to one god, help us again to understand the ideas fostered by the worshippers and the qualities attributed by them to the object of their adoration. Thus the number of negated nouns assigned in the great epic to Vishnu exceeds that used in connection with Siva; as the privative prefix often serves to emphasize the idea opposite to that expressed by the second member of the compound the former god was obviously believed to be firm and reliable (Acala 'immovable'), happy and one who causes happiness (Asoka 'free from sorrow' and so a resort for those who are unhappy), humble and modest (Amanin). Other names do not fail to inspire trust

and confidence : he is a physician (Bhisaj), and medicine (Bhesaja).

Thus it is not surprising that Asvatthaman in order to obtain Siva's aid in entering the camp of the enemy does not find difficulty in combining, in his prayer, a series of typically Sivaite names and epithets with a selected variety of appropriate references to the god's readiness to grant boons, to his protective and destructive power and irresistibility as well as to his ability to assume many forms—the god will indeed manifest himself—and his being the chief of large hosts of minor deities who in fact are not long in appearing. Yudhisthira, on the other hand, whilst extolling in a hymn of adoration Vishnu - Krshna as the author of his success, the recovery of his kingdom—which he ascribes to the god's grace, prudence and force, intelligence and pervasive energy—addresses him not only appositely as 'destroyer of enemies' or Jisnu 'the victorious one', but also as Purusa, the True-and-Real (Satya), the universal sovereign (Vibhu Samraj), and he does not forget to add a considerable number of the god's traditional epithets and to identify him with powerful deities and important concepts with whom he, the origin and dissolution of the universe, in the course of time has become intimately allied.

We must confine ourselves to these instances and to the remark that this nomenclature could suggest the headings under which to arrange the data relative to the gods' nature and deeds. Not only the epics but, to mention only these, also the works of the great classical authors admit of the conclusion that

the names and attributes which are preferentially assigned to these gods bring out the main aspects of their powerful and venerable character. The great diversity of names and epithets was a welcome means of throwing light, in a particular context, on some one or other side of a god's activity or of voicing the feelings or conceptions of the authors with regard to his character. The preference of particular Saiva or Vaishnava schools or communities for one of the many names of their god for instance, of the Pasupati-Saivas for Pasupati, reinterpreted as 'Lord of the (cattle-like) souls', and of many Vaishnavas for Hari,—is as illustrative of important trends of Indian religious life as the aversion of, for instance, exclusive Vaisnavas to using the most representative name, Siva, of their God's rival.

VII. THE NENJUVIDU THOOTHU

[The only book which can be called a true compendium of Tamil Saivism appeared in 1971. It is Mariasusai Dhavamony's "Love of God according to Saiva Siddhanta." It is a study in the Mysticism and Theology of Saivism. The work was initially written as a dissertation for the degree of D.Phil. in the University of Oxford.

The author has endeavoured to give a proper explication of all the fourteen Tamil Sastras in this work. Here is printed his article on The Nenjuvidu Thoothu. Ed.]

A. THE WORK

UMAPATI is the author of the poem-treatise¹ entitled *Nencuvitu-tutu, The Message Sent by the Heart*, in which the heart as personified is sent as a messenger to its beloved². The work narrates the greatness of God's love, explains the symbolism of the ten insignia of God as Master and King, and, more strikingly, brings out the marvels of God's grace and love in helping souls who wander away from him. It also shows the way of attaining blissful union with God

Astavatanam Puvai Kaliyanacuntaram wrote a Tamil Commentary on this treatise.³

1. Composed c.A D. 1311 *Calivahana (Chahaptam 1233)*.

2. Or 'the heart as personified sends a message to its beloved'.

3 See *Meykanta Catnam*, pp. 745-67.

B. THE DOCTRINE

(a) The nature of God

The true nature of God Siva is unknowable (*enrum ariya iyalpinan*, 2) even by the gods Vishnu and Brahma, who seek to know him. The former is said to assume the form of a boar (*panri*) to bring back the earth from the waters 'for the good of all creatures' (*Mbh. Narayaniya* section, 340. 74), and eventually to seek to know the secret of Siva's nature; the latter is said to assume the form of a bird (*annam*) which flies in the sky in search of true knowledge of Siva (1-2). Other gods of the Hindu pantheon, beginning with Indra, and all human beings also cannot by themselves know the real nature of Siva (3). He is inaccessible even through the Vedas, mantras, *vedanta* (the Upanishads), and *cutta mayai*¹ like *vintu* and *natam* (3-4). For he is infinitely great and transcendent (*alavirantu ninra periyar*, 5.) He possesses the female part which symbolizes his *Sakti*. He is formless (*aruvan*)² as Civan, Catti, Natam, and Vintu. He has

¹ See Tamil Commentary in *Meykanta Cattiram* p. 745.

² In the *Saiva Siddhanta* literature God is described as *aruvan*, *uruvan*, *aru uruvan*, meaning: 'formless' 'with form' 'both formless and with form' respectively. That is to say, God is formless in the sense that he does not possess forms such as the unaided human minds can think of. He has form in the sense that he manifests himself to the bhaktas in many human forms. He is formless and with form when he manifests himself as redeemer within the human soul itself. More philosophical analysis of this is given in Ch. III on the *Sivananapotam*.

form (*uruvan*) as Mahesvaran, Uruttiran, Vishnu, and Brahma; he is also formless form as Catacivan (6).

Such an unknowable God is accessible only to his bhaktas (*eliyan*, 5) whether they be gods or men, because (*bhakti*) alone can win the necessary grace by which they can see God as he is in himself (3). To those who are his genuine loving devotees (*parivana*¹ *meyyarkku*) he reveals his nature as Truth (*meyyan*) (6-7). He is the father (*aiyan*, 7) of souls, the Lord (*iraivan*) who resides in his flock (*pacu*) and becomes their fullness (*nirainta*) (8).

(b) The symbolism of the ten insignia of God as King

The idea of God as the Lord (*Pati*) and Master of souls has inspired many a Saivite writer to describe him as the Supreme King and attribute to him qualities that are proper to earthly kings. Umapati, apparently following the example of Manikkavacakar, explains the symbolism of the lordship and sovereignty of God and of his reign of love and grace by means of the ten insignia (*tacankam*)² of an earthly king. Manikkavacakar's *Tiruttacankam* from the *Tiruvacakam*³ is of great help to us to understand better the texts of the *Nencuvitutu*.

1. Note the expression *parivana*, which signifies 'loving'.

2. *Tacankam* = *taca* + *ankam*, lit. 'ten attributes or adjuncts (of the King)'. The real meaning is 'ten royal insignia'.

3. K. Cuppiramaniam Pillai, *Tiruvacakam*, Madras, 1963, pp. 332-7.

(1) *The King's mountain.* Siva, the Supreme King, possesses the mountain of auspicious qualities (*kunakkunron*, 39) which, being of the nature (*panpu*) of love (*parivu*) and grace (*arul*), shine in the minds of the bhaktas (39). According to the *Tiruvacakam*, the King's mountain symbolizes the most gracious of his qualities, namely the redemptive action¹ by which he shines in the hearts of his bhaktas (*nencattu, irulakala, valvici*) and grants the Supreme bliss of *mutti* (*inpamaru mutti arulum*).²

(2) *The King's river.* From this mountain of supreme dharma (*tarumac celun kiri*) descends the King's river, and, winding its course to the delight of the people, removes all doubt (*aiyam*), theft (*kalavu*), fear (*payam*), lust (*kamam*), murder (*kolai*), and anger (*kopam*) from the bhaktas (40-1). Destroying all the effects of *karma vinaiy ellam alittu*, 41) with the sound of the sacred formulae, it runs through the *Sruti* and the Agamas, uprooting the three *malam*; and passing beyond the shore of instruction and initiation into the Saivite way of life, it wipes out empirical experience (*putatt unarv alittu*, 43), the desires of the five senses *aivaya vetkaiva*, 44), and the functions of the organs (45); it also breaks the cord of bondage (*pantam parittu*, 46) produced by the action of the inner organs. In order to increase the power of grace (*arul*) to destroy the three *gunas*, the illusion of the five senses, and earthly desires, especially the intoxicating lust for women (*matar*

1. Or the *mutti* itself, *mutti arulu malai*, as Dr. G.U. Pope takes it.

2. *Tiruvacakam*, 19.5.

māyakkam, 49), the river spreads all over the universe and transcends all *tattuvam*. Finally it reaches the inner essence of each soul (*evv uyirkkum ul pukuntu* 55) and grants it *mutti* (*vitalittu*, 56).

Manikkavacakar explains briefly the meaning of this symbol : 'the King's river is the rapture sent from above (heaven), come down into the hearts of men in order to remove impurity'.¹

(3) *The King's land*. God, the Supreme King's country, is where one can see (*parttu*) and grasp (*unarntu*) the truths of the *Sruti* and the Agamas, which are the source of immense bliss (58).

Manikkavacakar says that the Southern Pandya realm is the land of him who rules over his loving ones (*katal avar*) through love (*anpu*) and bestows the grace of never returning (*mila arul*) to the samsaric existence.² The Pandya realm of the Tamil country

1. *Tiruvacakam*, 19.4 :

*Van vanta cintai malank kaluva vant iliyum
Anantan kan utaiyan aru.*

The text is rather obscure. Dr. G. U. Pope translates it as follows : the Master's river is the rapture sent from heaven, come down, the foulness of our mind to cleanse'. Cf. his *Tiruvacakam*, p. 204. A better translation would be what we have given in the text, paraphrasing thus : *malan kaluva van vanta cintai*. See K. Cuppriamaniyam Pillai, *Tiruvacakam*, p. 334.

2. *Tiruvacakam*, 19.2. *Mila arul* can also be taken as 'unfailing grace', as Dr. G. U. Pope translates.

is supposed to be the sacred place of Siva. The *Tiruvilaiyatal Puranam* contains the history of the sixty-four sacred sports (*tiruvilaiyatal*) of Siva at Maturai, in order to show that he dances the creation into existence. Some would say that Cola kingdom is the holy place of Siva, where Citamparam and Arur are situated.

(4) *The King's city.* Siva's city is where souls, trained in sixtyfour arts, detached from all desires and pleasures (*kama nilayanat ellamum nittu*, 59), and having put aside all wandering of the mind, remain fixed in *Civamonam* (60). *Civamonam* or *civayokam* is the discipline by which the soul, losing all distinction, intuitively realizes Siva as he is in himself and becomes most intimately united with him. Most native commentators represent this union as being effected by *civananam*, which in this case is *arulcatti*.

Manikkavacakar says that Uttarakoca mankai is lauded by the bhaktas as the earthly city of Siva (*pattar ellam parmer civapurampor kontatum*).¹ According to the Saivite tradition, Uttarakoca mankai is called Civapuri because it is there that Siva is supposed to have revealed the Agamas to the sixty-four bhaktas²

(5) *The King's garland.* God wears the garland, resplendent with grace, that attracts the heart of the true bhaktas, whose eyes shed tears of love, whose enlightened minds are fixed on God, and whose hearts

1. *Thiruvacakam*, 19. 3.

2. K. Cuppramenam Pillai, *Tiruvacakam*, p. 35.

melt and overflow with unlimited love, trembling in the enjoyment of union with God (61-3).

Manikkavacakar observes that the Lord, who dwells in hearts where love-springs abound (*allurum anparpal*), owns him (Manikkavacakar), a worthless cur, in order that the 'evil' deed may not approach him; and he says that God wears as wreath the *tali aruku*.¹

(6) *The King's courser (horse)*. God owns the horse that symbolizes *civananam*, which knows all the *tattuvam*, all human souls and their thought, and which stands in a relation to all beings (*ellamay*) like that between body and soul, though still different from them (*allavumay*), because of the difference in their own proper essence; it is the difference between the eye (*kan*) and the sun (*arukkan*). This *nanam* is hidden in everyone's thought (*ennam*), both as different (*nillamal*) and not different (*nirkum*) from it (65-6).

Manikkavacakar notes that God joyously rides upon the courser of the sky (*van puravi uru makilntu*).²

(7) *The King's army (elephant)*. The Eternal King possesses the elephant which symbolizes the power of

1. *Tiruvacakam*, 19.9, '*Tali aruku*' is a garland made out of the red water-lily, worn by Siva (see *ibid*, 2.113-14). The *cassia fistula* (*konrai*) has beautiful, long, yellow, and fragrant leaves; it is supposed to be Siva's adornment.

2. *Tiruvacakam*, 19.6. *Van* = sky = *cutta mayai* or *citakayam*.

divine wisdom (*nana anaiyan*, 73). This divine wisdom penetrates the lower worlds, supports the seven worlds of the earth and the seven worlds of the sky; it pervades the invisible worlds (*akantam*¹ *niraintu*) (66). It is not definable, but the bhaktas can easily realize it; it takes the shape of the Vedas and Agamas (*marai*) and of six *Vedankam* (67).² United with the soul as its inner soul (*uyiray*) and inner knowledge (*unarvay*), *nanam* destroys impurity (*pacam*) and dries up the sea of birth (67—8; it attacks the evil powers of desire, anger, pride, and jealousy (69), refutes false alien religious systems, and does away with fear and murder (70). It dispels the concupiscence of the world of impurity (*pacam*), of sexual desire (*kamam*) (70—1). With the quickness of love (*necattal ana vekam*) it enters the garden of the *tattuvam*, drinks in the honey of bliss, and shines with four horns (71—3).

Manikkavacakar does not make use of the symbolism of the elephant, but instead brings in Siva's weapon, the trident (*kalukatai*), and remarks that it transfixes the threefold impurity (*mummalankal payum*)

1 *Akantam*, lit. 'invisible'; in Salvism it refers to *cutta maya lokam*. See the Tamil Commentary in *Meykanta Cattiram*, p. 754.

2 The *Vetankam*, which are subordinate and supplementary to the Vedas, are six: *citcai* (the science of pronunciation and articulation) *karpam* (a ritual for religious service), *viyakaranam* (grammar), *cantacu* (prosody), *niruttam* (a glossary explanatory of the obscure words and phrases that occur in the Vedas), *cotitam* (astronomy and astrology).

in order to make the stainless hearts of the bhaktas melt (*alukk ataiya nenc uruka*).¹

(8) *The King's banner.* The Eternal King has the banner that wipes out the burden of misery (*cumai tumpam nikkum*, 74). Manikkavacakar says that Siva's banner of the bull gleams resplendent while enemies run away.²

(9) *The King's martial drum.* The Divine King possesses the material drum (*muracu*) that responds with the sweet grace (*inpaarul*) which enables a man to forget himself (*tammai marantu*), grants the divine light to souls (*olliy ulley irutti*), and helps it to practise yoga (75-7).

Manikkavacakar comments³ on this symbol by saying that this drum dispels the foe of birth (*piravip pakai kalanka*) and causes supreme bliss (*per inpam*)

10) *The King's command.* The Supreme King commands the whole creation to exist, last, and be active through the minor gods Brahma (*ayan*) and Vishnu (*mal*) (78-9). Manikkavacakar does not include this symbol in his exposition; instead he points out the King's name, the Lord of Arur (*aruran*) the gracious⁴ Lord (*cemperuman*); both Brahma, the god of the white flower (*ven malaran*), and Vishnu, the god of

1 *Tiruvacakam*, 19.7. 2 *Ibid.* 19.10.

3 *Ibid.* 19.8.

4. *Cem peruman* can also be taken to mean 'the ruddy one', as Dr. G. U. Pope translates-

the milky sea (*par katalan*), praise him as the God of the gods (*tevar piran*).¹

(c) The waywardness of the soul

Umapati, in order to describe the situation of sin and rebirth in which human souls find themselves involved and to extol the workings of Siva's grace to redeem them from such a situation, has recourse to his own personal experience both of sin and of grace and addresses the reader in the first person.

Although I am as eternal as God himself (*enrum ulan anralavum yanum ulan*, 9), yet without realizing the real state (or nature) of my being I underwent the cycle of various births. I was egg-born (*antam*), sweat-born (*cuvetacam*), soil-born (*urpicam*), and placenta-born (*carayucam*) (10)². I was foolish to eat the evil fruits of *karma* (11); uninstructed, in false knowledge, I joined hands with the materialists (*ulakaytan*) (12); I committed injustice to my family (*kutip pali*), murder (*kolai*), theft (*kalavu*), fornication (*kamam*) (13); without striving after true wisdom, I became a slave to the tiring and boring empirical knowledge of the mind (*manatu*), to the judgement (*putti*, which follows this knowledge, and to self-will (*akantai*) (14-15); and I grew tired of the experiences of these and suffered a great deal from them (16).

1. *Tiruvacakam*. 19.1

2. These are the four kinds of matrix from which one undergoes innumerable births; namely, egg (*antam*), sweat (*cuvetacam*), seed (*urpicam*), and womb (*carayucam*).

As a result of this waywardness, I was entangled in lust, anger, fornication, pride, and jealousy (17). I came under the sway of the powerful ten faculties (*intiriyam*), of the corresponding senses (*mattirai*), of the endless five elements (*putankal*) (18), of the three faults (*kurram*) of desire, anger, and delusion which attract the will, and finally, of the three strands (*kunam*), three impurities (*malam*), three states (*avattai*) of the soul, and two kinds of *karma* (*iruvina*) (19). I was deeply attached to riches, became cruel and fearful of losing them (20-1). Thus, instead of following Siva's praiseworthy path of *bhakti*,¹ I sank ever deeper into the sea of birth and sin (21).

The grace of God and serious meditation led me to realize that those who hold on to the truth that God is the only true kinsman (*unnai oliya uravillai*, 23) of the soul, and those who remain at one with the wisdom (*arivu*) that is contained in this realization, are the ones who truly renounce the world (23-4). Realize, my soul, that the path of the pleasures of the five senses, of sin (*pavam*), especially that of being entangled in the net of women's eyes (*puvaiyar tam kan valai*) and of learning the art of sexual intercourse (*kalavik kalai payinru*, 27), and the sin of speaking cruel and harsh words: all these implicate one in the cycle of rebirth (28).

1. *Kace aravan ciril nilai* : lit, 'the praise-worthy state of the one who wears a snake around the waist', i.e. Siva. Obviously the state referred to is the Saiyite path of *bhakti*. This quotation is erroneous. Ed.

C. THE DOCTRINE OF BHAKTI

(a) The God of love

God's omnipresence and omnipotence in creation have the sole purpose of granting grace out of love. He possesses the quality of bestowing grace with love (*parint arul cer panpar kulavi vilanku kunak kunron* 39). His grace hastens to indwell and operate in creatures with the speed that can be realized only through love (*necattal ana vekam konta arul*) (71-2).

For the benefit of his bhaktas God Siva burnt the fortress of the rebellious asuras by his mere smile (30). He shines as light in the *nata tattuvam* (a form of the male energy of the Deity) which is the source of all the Vedas, Agamas, and arts (3'). He is the source of *kalai tattuvam* (the principle that dispels *malam*) in the universe (33). He is also the light both of wisdom (*nanam*) in *cuttavittai*¹ and of the *cukkumam*; ² he is the supreme power (*catti*) beyond *apara natam* and *para natam* (33-4).

More especially does God show his love in his dealings with the bhaktas. He bestows grace (*arul*)

1. *Cutta vittai* is the divine form in which action is less fully developed and *nanam* predominates.

2. The four *vakku* are the means through which the soul is made to experience the proper results of its *karma*; they are: *cukkumai*, *paicanti*, *mattimai*, *vaikari*. These constitute the organic bases of intelligent ideas and language, as laid in the human organism.

by which his bhaktas come to know him as their intellectual light (*ariv oli*) and dwells in their hearts (32-ff.). Only those who constantly meditate on him with love (*anpar*) does he favour with his visit (*ninaippavarpal cenran*, 35), and he is easily accessible to them. To the true bhaktas (*parivana meyyarkku*) he reveals himself as Truth (*meyyan*) (7). Living in their souls as inner light, he manifests his nature to the inner eye (*ulak kan*, 36) of *bhakti*.

Redemptive love of Siva is strikingly portrayed by Umapati when he alludes to God's manifestation in the form of his own guru. Siva appeared to me, he says, in the person of my guru, Marai nana campantar, as he came in procession. I bowed to him in adoration in the company of other bhaktas (89). He looked at me and his graceful look purified me from the five¹ kinds

1. Reference to the five *malam* instead of the usual three is quite new in this text. The Tamil commentator enumerates them as follows: *anavam*, *kanmam*, *tirotanam*, *mayai mayeyam* (op. cit, p. 757). Now *mayeyam* signifies the seven *tattuvam*—*kalam*, *niyati* etc. (see *Kalakat Tamil Akarati*). *Tirotanam* (Lit. 'curtain', 'screen', that which hides') means *tirotana catti* (according to the same dictionary), i.e. the *catti* that shields the soul from truth by making it experience wordly goods. Hence *mayeyam*, being the evolutes of *mayai* itself, and *tirotanam*, being the effect of *mayai*—both these could be reduced to *mayai*. Thus the usual doctrine of the three *malam* does not contradict this passage [Mayeyam is contained in Maya and Tirotanam in Aanava. Ed.]

of impurity and transformed my thinking (*ninaivu verakkinan*) (90); cutting asunder the coil of delusion, his glance showered on me the nectar of *civanantam* (91). He instructed me that the besmearing of the sacred ashes (*vennir*),¹ *Saiva* appearance (*civa vetam*)² and *Sivapuja* are what really matter in life;³ whereas such things as riches and family are impermanent (92).⁴ He taught me the meaning of the five sacred syllables (*namacivaya*) and the way of meditating on their hidden meaning with ever increasing *bhakti* (*neyem*) (93-4). Lighting the lamp of grace (*arulaik kolutti*) he united me with its flame as the inner light (*ull oli*, 96) of my soul: 'so, I could take rest in this ineffable union. He granted me his grace in order to possess my whole being (*ullam mutalaka ullatellam vanka aru vellam alittu*, 98).

(b) The love of the devotee

Umapati outlines the various paths of *bhakti* by which the soul has to get purified before entering the sphere of mystical love.

(i) Lower *bhakti*. *Bhakti* at the lowest level consists in an exterior form of worship, like taking to *Saiva* appearance (*civa vetam*) by wearing *rudraksa* berries, saffron robe, ash mark on the forehead, etc.

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1. *viputi* (holy ashes).
 2. Wearing *rudraksa* beads, tiger skin, etc.
 3. *Cattiya patarttam*.

Next comes the Siva - worship itself in which *bhakti* is itself interiorized and genuine love of *mutti* and of divine union takes possession of the aspirant (91-2). Then the bhakta meditates on the meaning of the sacred syllables and fixes God more intimately in his mind and heart (*nencu*) ; he increases his desire for union by more intense love (*neya mayalakki*)¹ for God (93).

(ii) Higher *bhakti* First of all Umapati exhorts his own soul not to follow those who falsely assert that they have seen the Supreme Absolute (*Brahman*) by themselves (*tam. piramam kantavar pol*), when in fact they only intuit into themselves (*tammaikkantu*) and affirm 'I am *Brahman*' (*nan piramam*) (111). Advaitic experience of *mutti* is hereby explicitly rejected. So, too, is the experience of a passionless state, indifferent to pleasure or pain; the Buddhists consider the impersonal *dharma* itself as their God (*aram teyvam*, 112) and gain freedom in the practice of this *dharma*.

For the *Saiva* Siddhantin the state of real *mutt* lies only in a union of love (*bhakti*) with the personal God Siva. That this union is realized only in love is a constant teaching of Umapati in this work. Melting of the heart (*ull uruki*, 62), shedding tears of love

1. *Neyamaya* is 'passionate love' ; but with respect to God, who is free of passion and desire, as affirmed in other contexts, this expression means simply 'intense love'.

*nattattal*¹ *tennir aruvi vila*, 61) are expressions among many that denote love of God. It is in the supreme union of love that God Siva enters the inner essence of the soul (*evvuyirkkum ul pukuntu*, 55) and grants the bliss of *mutti* (*vit² alittu*, 56). This is certainly a reminiscence of the *Gita* concept of the supreme *bhakti*; namely, of God penetrating the soul in love and giving himself as the supreme object of love.

1. *Nattattal*, lit. 'by the eyes'; *tennir* lit. 'clear water'. The whole context signifies 'tears of love'.

2. *Vitu* is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *mukti*.

VIII. "Nenju Vidu Thoothu"

(Message through the Heart)

of

Saint Umapathī Devanayanar

Rendered into English Heroic Verse without rhyme

By

Sekkizhar Adi-p-Podi T. N. Ramachandran

The Nature of God

The nimbus-hued Maal of flowery navel
The Four-Faced decked with lotus chaplet golden
As boar and swan, burrowed the earth and winged
the sky

But could not of His Nature know ; again,
Neither Indra, nor dwellers ethereal
Nor others of all the different worlds,
Nor habitants of Mantra-mountain great,
And billowy seas, nor Mantras, Vedas,
Nor Naada and Vintu-the crown and flower
Of Vedas, His Nature can comprehend.
He who is for ever easy of access
(To the godly) is past both speech and logic ;
He is small as He is the subtlest ;
His Frame His Consort shares; invisible
He is formless who hath a form as well
And a formless-form too and none of these;
He is the deathless One who is the Life
Of mortals' life; He in sooth is the true one

To the devoutly true; He indeed is the Deed
 Behind the deed; unto the false He is
 The false one fictitious; He is the Father—
 The Lord—God, the dweller in His Flock.

The Nature of Soul

Though I be eternal as the Bright one
 I abided not in the abiding state true,
 But fared forth for ever in transmigration
 Of all kinds of birth that are engendered
 In ovum, or sweat, or seed, or matrix
 And suffered deaths innumerable times;
 Even then, the more fool that I really am
 For ever bound to eat of the two-fold deed!
 Unschooled, with low knowledge condemned was I
 To join the Lokayaths; than an arrow
 Faster I sped forth and did evil deeds
 That my family to shame did expose;
 Heinous murder, larceny, lechery,
 I sought after and in them all wallowed;
 I'd not seek to know what ought to be known;
 Unto the mind forlorn and buddhi errant,
 And to arrogance by buddhi begot,
 I slaved, grew weary as body wearied,
 And did waste as my body wasted, sure;
 I know not of my life's sorrows to relate.

The Nature of Bond

To flint-hearted Lust, Wrath, Passion, Pride, Envy
 And to the faculties ten and *matras* ten,
 To the five elements illimitable,
 To brain-pervading felony three-fold,
 Gunaas three-fold, malaas three-fold and states

Three-fold and to deeds two-fold which all things
 Embrace, to the invisible airs ten,
 To relations, the very form of deeds two-fold
 And to wealth rare, I slaved and hard did work
 Deep immersed in boundless fear and cruelty
 Ignoring the pursuit of the path great
 That leads to the great God, serpent-cinctured
 But stood plunged, all bewildered in billows
 Of buffetting sea of deed-breeding tools ;
 Dawning wisdom imparts the saving truth
 That TRUER KINSMAN than THOU, there is none.
 They that really realise this truth, the knowledge
 Of Life, and the Great Being that truly is
 The knowledge behind the knowledge of Life
 Are the absolutely liberated ;
 Others in the net of bewilderment
 Are entangled sure ; thus did speak the poet
 Of divine afflatus, Valluvar great.
 His words of truth I ignored and did toil
 To propitiate full the senses five,
 And in this did persist relentlessly
 Only to sink deep in the sea of sin ;
 Caught was I by the net of damozels' eyes
 Where I learnt the fine art of lechery ;
 Little knowing the true state I blabbered
 Full many a word of cruel import.
 For ever in the cycle of birth and death
 I involved myself : Behold, oh my Heart
 The decadent plight of my piteous life !
 Now hearken with care to what I relate.

The State of God

He is the One enthroned on the Silver Mount;
 His smile of frown did to binders reduce,

The forts of those that respected Him not;
 He is the bright Light superne that issues
 From the summation of Vedas boundless ;
 He is the Alpha, the Immaculate ;
 The One to whom blemish is alien ;
 He's known only by the knowledge of those
 That possess enlightened knowledge divine ;
 In their bosoms he enters to abide
 He is the One of Space righteous that sustains
 The inner space of Space ; He is the Light
 That lights the light by the Grace begotten;
 He is the Gracious One, the Giver of grace
 To Grace ; immeasurable He doth stand
 Pervading all ; He's already with them
 That think on Him ; He is not to be known
 By mere knowledge ; He is the fadeless One
 Of effulgence, the blooming brilliance
 All-pervasive ; the flame immutable
 On earth ; the blemishless One invisible
 Save to the inner eye ; the One immanent
 And transcendent too ; of the ineffable
 God's glory, I fetter'd of deeds two-fold
 Will relate to you, as in my power
 It lies ; now I bid thee listen with care.

The Ten Insignia

(1) The Mountain

He is beyond the touch of paasam manifold
 And His is the Mountain of Love and Grace.

(2) The River

From the Mountain of Righteousness supreme
 Down descends His River, winding its course

To the delight of earthly lives ; destroys
 Doubt, theft, fear, lust, murder, wrath and effects
 Of all the deeds ; runs with bosom-thrilling
 Sound of "Aum" through Vedas and Aagamas
 Grace-abounding ; dashes forth uprooting
 The thicket of triple malaa and passes
 Beyond the shore of scriptures and instruction
 To quell experience empirical ;
 Removes the five-fold passion and desire
 Yclept the long-renowned body, mouth, eyes
 Nose and ear ; wipes out full the weakening
 Speech, feet, hands, and organs excretory
 And genitals ; gushes torrentially
 To pull down the irremovable bondage
 Forest-like ; and rolls on everywhere to dash
 To pieces, by its grace, the mind, buddhi
 Ahamkar and chittha ever-distracting ;
 On it flows washing three gunaas away ;
 The confounding of senses ceases as it
 Courses with thrill supreme through the human frame
 To sever the lust bred by damozels
 Whose bosoms boast of sandal paste fragrant
 And to fill the fields of passionlessness ;
 Forth it proceeds to purify the abodes
 Of Sun, Moon and Agni and in justness
 Is firm attached to the bases six and spreads
 In the realm beyond the ten airs mighty
 And higher soars beyond the elements five
 To transcend Ayan, Ara, Mahesa
 And Sadaa-Siva and all the tatwas too
 Of Naada and Vintu and the fathomless
 Zero which it doth subdue and again
 Passes beyond the land of knowledge great,

Absorbent of all the innumerables.

**(Thus) it grants to Souls clarified and from
Doubts freed, its Own Knowledge which is Moksha,
And dwells in all flesh inseparable
And as its own, entering their very lives
Like the coursing beyond the five bodily states
Towards the great sempiternal haven
Of ever-lasting effulgence great, doth run
His River of Bliss Stream, Grace-abounding,
Perpetual coolth, from deception free.**

(3) The Country

**Comprehension and practice of Sruti
And Aagamas lead to perennial bliss
Which is His Country inaccessible.**

(4) The Town

**His Town is the dwelling of such souls which
Learning by mastery of arts, eight times eight,
Have cut asunder the source of all desires;
Placid remains their Chinta in Silence
Unique of Siva-Gnanam soused for ever.**

(5) The Garland

**A flood of tears bred by love cascade from
The eyes of devotees ; their Chinta
Is serene, of confounding doubts well-cleared ;
Theirs is realisation; constantly thrilled
Their bodily hairs stand ever erect ;
Of falsehood they will have none ; their hearts true
Atremble melt with love unbounded for Him ;
The great Grace that draws these hearts is His Garland.**

(6) The Horse

His is the Horse which abides recondite
 In the thought of those thinkers who reside
 Beyond the dark realm of space, universe,
 Mountains, seas, under-worlds—all seven-fold,
 Transcending the five organs, the elements
 Life and feeling ; they are knowledge, and are
 All things as well as the reverse thereof.

(7) The Elephant

Penetrating beyond the nether worlds
 By rare words pictured, it is the support
 Of seven-fold—middle and upper—worlds ;
 Is ineffable and effable and is of
 The form, life and soul of Vedas and six
 Angas; it quells the vast-cruel sorrowing
 Paasam and smites the sea of birth to turn
 Dustily dry; again it doth fiercely scorch
 Doubt-breeding lust, anger, miserliness,
 Moham and madam and extirpates action
 Which causes the cycle of birth and death :
 It does away with the false theories
 Of all the vociferous religions ;
 Utterly extirpates fear and murder ;
 It speeds dripping ichor of grace divine
 Into the grove of tattwas and feeds on bliss
 Of honey with delight ; the Vedas four
 It doth wear as its two pairs of bright tusks ;
 It is the Tusker of Divine Gnosis

(8) The Banner

His Banner non-pareil waffeth beyond
 The religions six and clears the world
 Of its burdensome misery immense.

(9) The Drum

Quelling the rebellious flesh they do
 Worship the First one in their enthroned hearts ;
 They are oned with Him and are immune from
 Births future ; by yogic process they stay
 The straying airs in their bodies ; the wind
 Ethereal too they detain and cause the glow
 Of flame ever uniform and achieve bliss
 Of the sound of their lives is wrought His Drum.

(10, The Fiat

In all the worlds created and sustained by
 Ayan and Maal, beyond them and everywhere,
 In the upper worlds and in the city
 Of grace unperceivable, reigns His Fiat.

(11) God's Greatness

He is of boundless knowledge ; yet He is
 Not to be seen by mere knowledge ; He rules
 Over the realm of all arts and knowledge
 By sense utterly incomprehensible ;
 A subtle Trickster is He who fills the worlds
 And all the cardinal points with His light ;
 He's the One beginningless and endless ;
 He stands as the root of all, the seed as well ;
 He is that which germinates from the seed ;
 He is the body and the tanmatras,
 The elements and the pure space of Zero,
 The void and the things beyond the mere void.

(12) Gnaana Acharya

Unto me the senseless one He granted
 Heaven, my fall into the cruel wave-tossed

Sea of birth averting ; He is my Lord !
 The Saint great Sampandhan ! His blessed feet
 Worshipped by all, he planted on my poor crown ;
 My King is He ; the Rider of the Bull ;
 He's the meaning of the words of the wise ;
 The First One beyond compare ; self effulgent ;
 He needeth no happiness from without.
 In the hallowed form mighty of Guru
 Sans gunaa or mark he stood, the great Lord !
 He did snap the bondage, the cause of birth ;
 He abides in Tillai where dwell the learned,
 To mere intellect inaccessible.

(13) The Abolition of Malaa

He the Lord ethereal came in procession ;
 I adored Him, seeing others Him adore ;
 He threw his eyes on me ; in that instant
 Abolished was the bunch of my malaa
 Five-fold, and He transformed my very thought
 Uprooting the tattwass—six and ninety,
 Hard to narrate ; to me my inner spa
 Of honied ambrosia, he did reveal
 And demonstrate that the sacred ashes white,
 The form of Siva's devotee and worship
 Of Siva alone to be true ; 'Riches
 And life domestic are false', he declared ;
 He did inculcate the inner content
 Of the Pentad of Syllables sacred
 And how to chant and count and meditate
 On it ; He taught me to look within too
 Fearless, and trim the inner taper aflame
 And merge with the inly light of that lamp

Bright with boundless effulgence beautiful ;
 Thus abides the Lord like honey in bloom ;
 He is to be contemplated even so ;
 He showed me His light wrought of grace sans form
 And in place sans gunaa or mark
 Bade me rest; my life and all He did
 Unto Himself draw and with me did mate
 In a flooding grace of intoxication ;
 He made me forget my thievery and did
 Transform my knowledge into wisdom true ;
 He made me lose my I-ness and My-ness ;
 My cycle of birth and death he snapped ;
 He is past speech; He's inaccessible
 To any, howsoever great he be; He is
 Of divine attributes eight-fold ; He is
 The Wielder great of the letter matchless.
 He is the Songster great and Dancer grand ;
 He abides in Koodal with a vast court endowed ;
 He is not to be seen by the frivolous,
 The unfriendly and the fippant; He is
 The sight of the seer; from Him the Paanar
 A gift of seat wrought of wood did receive ;
 More incarnadine than russet sun-set
 Is He who is beyond Maal's prehension ;
 All things He fills with His Omnipresence ;
 By His grace He snapt the cycle of birth
 And death, ever revolving like the fan,
 Simoon, beetle and rotating wheel of fire.
 He is the falsity of the false ones ;
 He is the embosomed truth of them who know ;
 His hand doth wield the axe; oh my Bosom !
 Harken attentively now to the course
 Of thy journey to the Father's abode.

(14) The Goal

With each dawning day, himself he perfumes
 Gormondises, wears vestment velveteen
 And longs to be soused in the merry sea
 Of sexy chits of flower-decked locks
 And maintains that this life Epicurean
 Is indeed mukti; other joys aren't mukti.
 Like a devil of darkness he doth lie;
 Beware him, the Lokayath; go not near him;
 Go not near them who not having seen the Lord
 But only themselves, give out; "I am Brahm";
 Be not trapped by the doctrine Buddhistic
 Which says; "It is no slaughter to eat the slaughtered;
 The only Deity sure is righteousness,
 And right conduct is nothing but patience."
 With contentment false, their bodies' hairs pluck
 And discard shamelessly their accoutrement;
 They maintain that mukti is controlling
 The senses five; go not near these deceptive Jains.
 Believe not as true, the words of the Brahmins
 Who chant hoary Vedās of goodly words
 Composed, but know not their import or use.
 Shun the base who in their hearts do contemn
 God-given ashes and God's own Temple;
 Befriend not fools who have little regard
 For the true form of tapas, worship, grace,
 And knowledge true; shut thine eyes on them all
 Who adore dying gods and hate Siva.

(15) The Message

His eyes cast looks of grace on us and thus
 Ruled us; He is the great saint Śambandhan;

He is the Beyond that lives beyond the End ;
 Hie unto His Court, before him prostrate,
 Adoringly hail Him high and wish Him
 Victory eternal and praise Him thus;
 "You once did peel the skin of the warring mammoth !
 Will those who eyed Thee in Thy procession
 Be stung by the arrows of Manmathan ?
 Will they think on wealth fleeting and flee Thee
 To wallow in Hell cruel ? Or will they
 Be trapped by religions vociferous ?
 Will they stand confounded many a time ?
 Will they be witched by the dames whose bright teeth
 The pearl do excel and be thus fuddled
 By lewd desire for union with them ?
 Willt hey both day and night take notes of what
 The stars twenty-seven and planets nine
 Foretell ? O great One whose Eye to cinders
 Did Manmathan reduce ! Setting her mind
 On the sea of bliss, the damsel hath clean
 Forgotton her own self ; You must rid her
 Of her sorrows." Say thus and beg of Him
 Grant her His roseate feet of lotus ;
 So praying, beseech Him adoringly
 Again and again ; from Him His chaplet
 Of cassia get ; extol Him and of Him take
 Leave to come back and live with me for ever.



To rid the deeds begotten by damsels
 Whose eyes deceptive pierce like arrows,
 Oh my Bosom ! fare forth to fetch the garland
 Of the great Saint Sambandhan who averted
 My fall into painful transmigration
 And come back filled with memoried bliss

IX The Souls: Their Relation to Brahman

[The author of this article is Swami Vidyanand Sarasvati (formerly L. D. Dikshit). His is a well-known name in Delhi, Haryana and Punjab where for about two decades he had served as Principal of Colleges. The Vice-President of India nominated him as a Fellow of the Panjab University. For several years he was closely associated with Gurukul Kangri University.

He writes in the aphoristic style, and as a creator of sutras, he is second to none. His thinking is at once powerful and individualistic. His bold announcements of his theories merit high accolade.

He differs from the school of Sankara. Without having any recourse to Saiva Siddhantam, he has arrived at the conclusions already reached by it. This is of supreme importance to the Saiva Siddhantin. This article is from his 'Satsiddhanta Vimarsha' (Theory of Reality). Ed.]

The Individual Souls and Their Relation to Brahman

Soul is non-different from or identical with God.

According to non-dualism the individual souls have no-existence of their own. As a matter of fact, there is no reality except the Supreme Being who is the source of the manifold appearances which owe their origin to the pluralising power of Maya. "In the beginning", says the author of Panchadashi, "the Supreme Spirit, without a second, blissful and absolutely perfect, Himself assumed the form of the world, and Himself entered into it, assuming the

form of individual souls through the instrumentality of his own Maya." ¹ Thus an individual soul is in its essence non-different from Brahma, its individuality being due to apparant limitation. Bondage consists in its consciousness of limitation, and freedom from this consciousness is real freedom or salvation. The Supreme Spirit, by its very nature, is absolute reason or bliss. It is the adjunct of avidya or ignorance which apparently limits the infinititude of the Self, and thereby reduces it to the position of jiva or an empirical ego limited or Individualised in its character. Thus the jivas, being no other than Brahma conditioned by its adjuncts, their individuality is a borrowed and, in one sense, illusory individuality.

The theory is further explained by saying that Brahma does not undergo any change or form and there is no question, therefore, of its getting transformed into anything else. The jiva is not a manifestation of Brahma, nor any portion of it, but only Brahma in empirical dress. It is Brahma conditioned by avidya. Each jiva has its own knowing apparatus and moves in a small world of its own. It has its own joys and sorrows, its own individual existence. Though Brahma is one, the souls are many. Both Gaudapada and Shankar believe in the plurality of empirical selves. But, in truth, there is no jiva. It is all false creation or mere appearance. The mutable forms and names do not appertain to the essence of individual soul but are really separable adjuncts erroneously imputed to them.

We now proceed with the objections that may be urged against this view—

God and Soul — both are eternal and distinct from each other.

There is no dispute about the Supreme Being and the souls existing simultaneously and yet distinctly from the time of eternity. But it does not necessitate that the relation between the two should be that of cause and effect or substance and attribute. However, the effect may be originally present in the cause, the cause always precedes the effect and in that case, the exact simultaneity of the two cannot be established. Jiva cannot be the effect of Brahma, also because in that case, He (Brahma) would become 'Vikari' or changeable, whereas He is essentially unchangeable.

The Soul is without a beginning or an end. Individual souls are co-eternal with Brahma. But the admission of the souls as existing side by side with Brahma does not in any way clash with the position of Brahma who being infinite and unlimited in his character, is pre-eminently greater than the rest. If Brahma alone is real, there is no room for the distinction of a God who as 'Karmadhyaksha' rules and the world and the souls ruled by him.

According to Madhva, we cannot say that Brahma is one but appears as many because of adjuncts or upadhis. If he is conditioned by upadhis, he cannot be released from them, for his association with upadhis will be permanent. If upadhis are the product of ignorance, then ignorance will be of the nature of Brahma. If they were different, then

we will have dualism of Brahma and ignorance. If it is argued that ignorance is the quality of "jiva" we are in a vicious circle. There is no "jiva", without 'avidya' and no 'avidya' without 'jiva'.

That the individual souls had a beginning in time, and owed their existence to the creative activity of God is equally open to serious objections. A thing having a beginning is likely to have an end, for extinction is but the reverse process of origination. If a thing can come out of nothing it has only to retrace its steps to revert to nothing. Stepping into existence and stepping out of it stand exactly on the same footing. The admission that a thing had a beginning in time implies that its existence is determined by a conjunction of conditions, so that the withdrawal of some of the conditions, would entail its extinction. Immortality of soul is thus hardly compatible with the denial of its eternal existence.

Then again, why did an individual soul come into being for the first time at a particular moment of time and not another? There is nothing peculiar in any particular moment in the stream of time-continuum by reference to which you can explain why in particular it should be the starting time of the creation of souls; time in itself is indifferent to this great transition. The only way of meeting this problem may be by saying that the creation of individual souls being purposive, it took place when the necessary materials for the fulfilment of that purpose became available. But a little consideration shows the untenability of this position. In the first place, the ascription of creative purpose to God carries

with it the ascription of mutability to his nature, and implies, furthermore, that He may have a want which requires to be satisfied. In the second place, a thing which owes its existence to an external purpose may cease to exist with the cessation of that purpose. In the third place, how can you ascribe any purpose to God? He can have no purpose of his own directed towards an unrealised end, for He is ever perfect. For these and similar other reasons it is difficult to accept the position that one fine morning God said 'let there be so many individual souls' and forthwith they came into existence.

The following aphorisms contain further arguments in support of the view that God and souls cannot be identical.

Because of different attributes (God and soul are not identical).

According to Ramanuja, Brahma is endowed with a number of auspicious qualities. He is all pervading, all powerful, all-knowing and all merciful Lord of the universe. Nothing evil can be ascribed to him. He transcends all limitations, and controls everything. Those passages in the scriptures that seem to lay down that he is devoid of all attributes really import that the low and limited attributes appropriate to mundane objects cannot be ascribed to him.

Souls and the rest of the world, though pervaded by the Supreme Being, are distinct from him; and being different from him in form and character, they

can never be identical with him. The attributes of God cannot be predicated of the soul. While God is a dimensionless unity, all active and pervading, the souls are dimensionless units pervaded by God. Both are conscious entities. But they are identified and distinguished on account of three attributes — the capacity to know, the capacity to do and the capacity to enjoy pleasure and pain². These three tendencies are manifested, while in bondage, into six attributes ; desire, avarice, volition, pleasure, pain and cognition. The Supreme Being, on the other hand, is the Absolute Self, free from ignorance and all other vices and never subject to the reward or punishment of any actions. The Supreme Being, being omnipresent and omniscient is above all confusion, but the soul with its limited knowledge often falls into ignorance.

The Mundaka Upanishad, while distinguishing between God, soul and matter says, "God is refulgent, pure, bodiless, all-pervading inside and outside all, uncreated, free from the bondage of birth and death and unaffected by inspiration, expiration, body and mind. He is all-bright. These are the attributes. The soul is finer than the eternal and imperishable materiaradica. But god is finer than the soul, the finest of all." 5

Commenting on Vedanta Darshana (1.2.22), Shankar quotes the same verse from the Mundaka Upanishad and says: "The distinctive attributes mentioned here, such as being of heavenly nature, and so on can in no way belong to the individual soul". So far he is

right. But then his prejudice prevails, and in his usual style, he adds a phrase, not at all consistent with the occasion : "which erroneously considers itself to be limited by name and form as represented by Nescience". By a little distortion like this, he changed the true spirit and meaning of the Darshana as well as the Upanishad.

The relation between the substance and the attributes does not coincide with the relation between God and soul. The free nature of the soul, the whole doctrine of the cycle of life and death, pain and pleasure and the consciousness within, show that the soul is not a mere attribute of God.

On account of the law of relativity.

It was Descartes who said that "we cannot have the idea of finiteness if we did not have the idea of infinity (God)." The reverse is also equally true. And much more if God is all powerful, there must be someone who should be relatively less powerful. If there is one who is all pervading, there must be someone who is not so or something which is pervaded by him; for the pervader and the pervaded cannot be identical. We cannot conceive the existence of a Prajapati (Ruler of the people) without the co-existence of the people to be ruled, a teacher without the taught, a preceptor without the disciple, a deity without the devotee and so forth. Likewise, if there is the Brahman who is Supreme, there must be some entity or entities who should be subordinate to him. And it is they which are known as 'jivas' or souls. Certainly, the same entity cannot contain opposite or contradictory attributes.

On account of distinction between the worshipper and the worshipped,

Devotion or Bhakti is a relationship of trust and love to God. It is loving attachment to God. Narada defines it as intense love for God. For Shandilya, it is supreme longing for God.⁶ It is Ishwarapranidhana, of yoga sutra. Devotion thus implies a duality between the worshipper and the worshipped. The distinction between the creature and creator is the ontological basis of Bhakti. As a matter of fact, profound faith in God and belief in redemption requires us to assume three entities—the soul which has to be redeemed, the fetter (Prakriti) which binds it and from which it has to be redeemed and God, the Supreme Being who is to release it from bondage. Even those who, otherwise, advocate non-duality or 'advaita', have to admit that "the truth is non-duality ; but duality is essential for the sake of worship". Again "Before the rise of knowledge, duality is misleading, but when our understanding is enlightened, we perceive that duality is more beautiful than even non-duality and is conceived so that there might be worship".

If God and soul were identical, no meaning would be left in the word 'devotion.' The same being cannot be both—the deity as well as devotee. Who should worship or adore whom? Obviously, my worshipping or adoring myself would be simply ridiculous. If I am God myself but, being conditioned by ignorance, in bondage, whom should I approach for release, for, there is none else except myself. Even Shankaracharya does not preclude the necessity of

worship. Commenting on Satyadharmaya in Ishopanishad, he says, "By worshipping you, who is all truth, I have been wedded to truth". Worship necessarily implies the existence of duality—the worshipper and the worshipped who are to be regarded as eternally different. When Madhva says that Bhakti consists of a continual flow of love for the Lord, he spells out its details, saying that "it is continual thinking of God, leaving all other things aside." Madhva has here very clearly admitted the existence of three entities—'jiva', the thinker (meditator); 'God', the object of concentration (meditation) and 'other things' (Prakriti).

On account of desire for emancipation.

All of us entertain a keen desire for emancipation. The Supreme Being is free from bondage. Ignorance is the cause of bondage. It is through ignorance that we have become bound; knowledge will cure it by taking us to the other side. When that happens, nature (Prakriti) will fall at our feet, and we will enjoy trampling on it. No more is there life, therefore, no more is there death. No more enjoyment, therefore, no more misery. It is bliss unspeakable. What we call good and happiness here, are but particles of that bliss. And His eternal bliss is our goal.

If we had been God ourselves why should we all aspire for freedom from bondage. But we know that we have to undergo transmigration from one body to another and finally, when we are sufficiently purified, we attain emancipation. Hence our prayer to lead us from death to immortality. In the state of immortality

also, the soul does not lose its individuality, and after the prescribed period comes again into bondage. And this cycle of bondage and emancipation goes on.

Establishing the distinction between God and soul, the Upanishad says, "The soul becomes happy after its communion with God who is all bliss." Had God and soul been one and the same, it could not have been said that the soul becomes happy when it becomes one with God. We often talk of union with God and union always takes place between two distinct objects.

Madhva believes in a personal God endowed with qualities and characters. When He is said to be nirguna, all that is meant is that he is not associated with the qualities and attributes of Prakriti. He is saguna in that he admits the presence of auspicious spiritual qualities. Each one of his qualities is boundless. He is the author of the acts of creation, preservation, destruction, governance, knowledge, bondage and release. Madhva holds that if all souls were identical, then there would be no difference between the emancipated and the unemancipated ones. If all difference is due to ignorance, then God who is free from ignorance will perceive himself as one with all individual souls and experience their sufferings.

Baldeva Vidyabhushan has written a commentary on Vedanta Sstras, known as Govinda Bhashya, supporting the doctrine of dualism ascribed to Audulomi. According to this view the jivas are essentially different from God. Owing to their connection with body and

mind, they become subject to impure ideas from which they can free themselves only by the acquisition of self-knowledge and the performance of devotional meditation; and when they are so purified they attain salvation and become one with God. The non-difference which is sometimes indicated in the scriptures does, according to this view, refer to a possible future state, viz the state, of salvation. While the view about the merger of the soul with God in the state of salvation may be disputed (and left for discussion at some later stage), two things are abundantly clear: firstly, the soul is originally distinct from God; and secondly, the desire and efforts on its part to be free from bondage prove that it knows that it lacks the qualities of God. Both these conclusions testify that God and soul are not identical.

On account of injunctions and inhibitions being meaningful.

The scriptures ordain certain things to be done and certain others to be desisted from. For instance: Thou shalt speak the truth; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt love thy neighbour; thou shalt not covet what belongs to others etc. Does Brahma need to know (what is good action and what is bad one)? Why should the immortal God—the fountain head of all bliss—pray (Relieve me from the cycle of birth and death and lead me to emancipation. It is always the needy who asks for something. As a matter of fact, all this relates to the individual whose ignorance binds it in the mortal body.

The soul (Atman) is something different from the body as well as the mind. Those who study the English language, are often confused or deluded by the words, soul and mind. Our soul is entirely different from our mind. What we called manas, the western people called soul. They never had the idea of soul until they got it through Sanskrit philosophy, some two hundred years ago. The body is here, beyond that is the mind, yet the mind is not the soul. Actually, mind is the fine or subtle body, the 'sukshma sharira' which goes on from birth to birth; and behind the mind is the soul, often designated by western scholars as 'self'. The soul goes, through birth and death, accompanied by the mind or the 'sukshma sharira'. It is only when it has attained emancipation through knowledge that this going from birth to death and from death to birth ceases for it. During the period of dissolution also, the soul remains without the subtle body or 'sukshma sharira'.

If there be no difference between the individual souls and the absolute spirit, no instructions are needed to impress upon them that they are essentially non-different from or identical with the Absolute; for a real identification can never be disturbed. If the difference really exists, all instructions calculated to impress upon them otherwise would be futile; for no amount of instructions can eliminate a difference which is inherent in their nature. It is suggested that the conscious attainment of immortality depends upon our realising that we are not the poor limited creatures that we seem to be, but the divinities upon earth appearing under conditions of time and space which

can fetter us only so long as we remain ignorant of our real nature, just as a prince brought up in the house of a poor man remains unconscious of his royal dignity so long as he labours under the false impression that he is a poor man's son. This analogy may be apt in the case of a prince who, being human with all his limitations, can be ignorant of his reality, but not in the case of the omniscient and omnipotent Supreme Being.

Man is subject to different sets of laws. He cannot disobey the law of gravitation. If he is unsupported in mid air, he must fall to the ground like a stone. As a living organism he is subject to various biological laws which he cannot afford to violate. These laws he shares with the animals. But there are laws which he does not share with animals — laws which he can disobey, if he so chooses. These are ethical or moral laws — laws of Dharma or laws of right or wrong. Nothing is wholly good and nothing is wholly bad. The two—good and evil — pervade the world throughout. The famous English poet, Alexander Pope, said, in his 'Essay on Man' —

Virtuous and vicious every man must be,
Few in the extreme, but all in degree.

The couplet, while warning us to be careful in judging others, makes it clear that we human beings are far from being perfect like the Supreme Being who is all virtuous.

The soul is possessed of free will which, when exercised, leads it sometimes to Prakriti and sometimes to Brahma. To quote Alexander Pope once again —

Two things in human nature reign,
 Passion to urge and reason to restrain.

This freedom to act, this individuality of the soul and its limitations take it round the whole circle of life and death. It cannot be in relation to Brahma who, in its very nature, is eternal, pure, all knowing and ever free. Freedom always means the non restriction of path, and in that case, for one who is not all-knowing, there is an equal probability of being deluded on a wrong path as of following the right one for the soul, the two courses are open — the one leading to Prakriti with all its pleasures and pains and the other to Brahma, the source of all bliss. Hence all the injunctions and inhibitions.

On account of the fruition of actions.

Man is held responsible for the works—good or bad—done by him. If all are the transformation or appearance of Brahma, how is it that we do not make animals accountable for their evil deeds? What is that which distinguishes a man from the lower animals? It is not at all possible for an animal to do otherwise than what it is dictated to it by its actual nature—by its impulses and passions. But the case is different with man. He could have, had he only paused and deliberated, seen the consequences of his impulsive actions which he had indulged in. There was, in him, a possibility for a better course of action than what he had done, and this possibility he had ignored. Why did he, in following his evil impulse, stoop to an animal satisfaction? It is for this that we hold the man responsible for his evil deeds and punish him for

them. An infinite possibility either for good or for evil is always present in him. But with an animal, the case stands differently; because all of us are not one entity or identical with each other or non-different from one Supreme Being.

If God had desired to create a world of automata there would have been no evil, no failure. God could have eliminated evil if he had so wished by denying us freedom of choice. Evil is there because we sometimes abuse free will. If the world is a machine, then the individual has no meaning. He is not free until he is capable of creative activity. Without creative freedom man cannot produce either a paradise or a desolation on earth. God permits evil because he does not interfere with human choice.

God is spoken of as one who presides over actions and supervises the operation of the law of Karma. There must be no miscarriage of justice, nor any frustration of the inexorable law of Karma. Men must get the rewards and punishments at the right time and place. Naturally, therefore, a great deal of design must enter into the creation of the world. He provides the souls with various forms of bodies which belong to different species of beings, possessing a definite arrangement of organs and are, therefore, capable of constituting the abodes of fruition. His creating all creatures in forms and conditions corresponding to and retributive of their deeds is just what entitles him to be called the cause of fruits of actions. The Mimamsakas speak of an invisible potency which is said to connect the rewards and punishments with the doers of the deeds.

The law of Karma has nothing in common with the popular idea that rewards and punishments are dependent on the arbitrary will of God. If God predestines us for weal or woe regardless of what we do, it is no use bothering about what we do. Karma is not predestination. If the law of Karma is the will of the highest wisdom and God is the sovereign who works the law, then our future may be regarded indifferently as either the fulfilment of the law or a gift of God.

But all ethical rules become meaningless if the world is divine and everything is God. Then there is no excuse for our interfering with the sacred activities of the pickpocket or the assassin. At a time when people are doing devil's work under divine sanction and consoling themselves by attributing everything to God, the acceptance of the doctrine of monism is doing incalculable harm to human society. Who can punish whom when the offender and the judge are one and the same Brahman ?

Divine laws cannot be evaded. Every act, every thought is weighed in the invisible but universal scales of justice. The day of judgement is not in the remote future, but here and now : and none can escape it. But, if I were to sit for judgement on myself, I should not be expected to punish myself for anything done by me. The diversity we see in the world shows that there is a divinity, distinct from us, which shapes our ends in the light of our action. The world is the scene of an active struggle between good and evil in which God is deeply interested. He pours out his wealth

of love in helping man to resist all that makes for error, ugliness and evil. As God is completely good and his love is boundless. He is concerned about the suffering of the world.

If God is the only absolute reality, it must be assumed that in the Absolute mind good and evil, which are so obvious in the world on equal terms are reconciled or are made consistent with each other. If the Absolute mind is held to be all good, which vanishes from the absolute point of view in proportion as we succeed in attaining that outlook. This to the realist will be an encouragement to moral laxity, an apology for the abominable.

The difference of pleasure and pain cannot be explained without plurality of Souls, distinct from Brahma.

The difficulty appears still more insuperable when we come to deal with the problem of the inequality of human happiness. Individual beings in this world are found endowed with different amounts of knowledge, power, pleasure, pain etc. It can hardly be denied that this inequality is, to a great extent, determined by the differences in the conditions, capacities, and susceptibilities characterising different individuals from the very outset. The Vedantic doctrine that individual souls are non-different from Brahma is inconsistent with the assertion that, when considered from a relative standpoint, they are to be regarded as different from one another. Even conceding that the empirical diversity of individual souls is not inconsistent

with their ultimate unity inasmuch as they are essentially non-different from the Supreme Spirit, the existence of misery as an almost invariable concomitant of individual existence throws considerable doubt on the assertion of this identity; for, does not the Vedantic position imply that in making the individual souls subject to misery, the Supreme Spirit has done mischief to himself? It is not perhaps too much to say that two persons are not equally happy or equally miserable. No body can, at the same time, assert that, as a state of feeling, pain is not antithetic to pleasure one, being the object of aversion and the other of desire. Even the Vedantists admit that ultimately God is the regulator of pleasures and pains. But he does not make all persons equally happy. We might have imputed partiality or cruelty to God, had he caused pleasures and pains in an arbitrary way. But the supposition that different persons are from their birth placed under unequal circumstances and endowed with different capacities and dispositions irrespective of their actions and dispositions in the past is itself inconsonant with our idea of justice. As a matter of fact, just as rain is necessary for the seeds to sprout and grow up into plants and trees and then to produce their fruits—sweet or sour—even so God creates an atmosphere that would be most congenial for the souls to reap the sweet or bitter consequences of their actions. When different seeds produce different crops, we cannot hold the clouds responsible for the difference, although without showers of rain they might not have fructified.

Conceding that the present differences are due to the vestiges of actions performed in the past, it may

be asked if these streams of actions had a beginning in time. If they had, the difficulty really recurs a few steps back and, on the whole, remains as insoluble as before; for, differences in the initial stage require as much explanation as present differences, and perhaps more, for as they are *ex hypothesi* primordial, we cannot fall back upon the past to account for them.

Now, if the Jivas (souls) are being created by God, these primordial or connate differences require some justification or explanation, in the absence of which, it may very well be contended that the Creator is neither impartial nor merciful. You cannot get over the difficulty by saying that although the differences, so far as the present life is concerned, appear to be primordial, they are really derivative, being the effects of differences in actions performed in the past lives: for, assuming that the individual souls had an origin in time, the difficulty is sure to recur only a few steps back. Thus the problem is only shifted but not solved: for, if you admit an original diversity in the conditions, capacities and disposition of different individuals affecting their happiness in the course of life, the impartiality of the Creator remains as questionable as ever.

It is at any rate indubitable that subjection to some amount of misery is the inevitable result of worldly life. Now, if that be so, and if the individual beings are but creatures set afloat by the Creator, it seems to be at least questionable whether the epithet 'merciful' is properly applicable to Him. In the next place, considering the limited character of individual existence,

as maintained in this system, one may suspect that if salvation involves complete freedom from pain as one of its constituent elements, the individual souls cannot, on this view, attain that state except by undergoing complete annihilation. If the individuals sprang out of nothing they may ultimately revert to it, and this is a prospect which is certainly neither covetable nor encouraging.

To prove the identity of the same individual both before and after sleep, Shankar argues that otherwise the man waking up could not have begun again the same works which he had left unfinished before he went to sleep. This brings into light what was really working in the mind of Shankar when he said that "a piece of work half done by one man cannot be brought into completion by a different man." Shankar speaks of memory here. The works themselves cannot exercise the memory. It is, therefore, the Self which does it, recollects his past and connects it with the present. Memory is the distinguishing characteristic attribute of the Self. That makes every man accountable for his works. The 'past' or 'present' are applicable only to the individual soul and not to the eternal and all pervading Supreme Being.

In fact the concept of the eternity of soul, distinct from God, coupled with the doctrine of metempsychosis furnishes the only reasonable hypothesis to enable us to answer all such questions. This world is not the scene of a constant flow of new individuals, so that

he who comes into it never came before, and once out of it, will never return. As a matter of fact, the present birth is one among a series of successive births through which an individual passes until he reaches the end of his journey. This course of metempsychosis can only be put an end to by the attainment of knowledge which enables the individual to attain freedom.

X. The Role of the Saivagamas in the Saiva Ritual System

[The author of this article is Jean Filliozat, a French Indologist. He is responsible for the founding of the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry. It is to him we owe, in a great measure, the revival of interest in Agamic study. His discovery that the majority of Brahmins are not priests and the majority of priests are not Brahmins is of supreme significance. The contribution of Filliozat to Dravidology is inestimable. He has retrieved many old and rare manuscripts and historical documents from oblivion. He is also considered an authority on ancient Indian medicine. Ed.]

The standard ritual in Hindu temples is based on books of religious technical teachings which are called Tantras or Agamas. They are in use in Vishnu temples as well as in Siva temples.

Vaishnava Tantras usually bear the title of *samhita*, as in *Ahimbudhnyasamhita*, *Paramasamhita* etc...But we do find such titles as Laksmi Tantra as well. Saiva Tantras are ordinarily termed Agama, as in *Kamikagama* and other texts.

These texts, as well as the corresponding ones in Jain and Buddhist circles, are normally divided into four parts or *pada-s*: 1) *jnana*—or *vidyapada*, dealing with doctrine, 2) *kriyapada*, devoted to the description of rites and to the rules for building temples and making images, 3) *caryapada* giving directions for the conduct of life and for individual observances, and

4) *yogapada*, completing the *caryapada* by psychosomatic training leading to the supreme goal.

As Agama simply means "Tradition", the name has been applied in India to any tradition; it has even been borrowed in Indonesia to designate religions, for example, "Agama Hindu, Agama Islam, or Agama Kristen".

Today, the Saivagamas are chiefly in use in South India. It is in South India that the religious tradition has been preserved at its best, as South India has been less disturbed by various kinds of invaders than was Northern India. Further, South India, after the decline of Vedic and Brahmanical religions has been a region of intense creativity in philosophy and devotion. Sankara, for example, was born in Kerala, Ramanuja in Tamil Nadu, Madhva in Karnataka, while Nimbarka and Vallabha were natives of Andhra.

The first great movement of poetic bhakti, both Saiva and Vaishnava, appeared in Tamil Nadu with the Saiva saints called Nayanmar and the Vaishnava saints, the Alvar. But the Saivagamas have also been in vogue in Kashmir where flourished the Saiva school of Trika different from but analogous to the Tamil Saiva Siddhanta school which was also based on the Agamas.

Moreover, the Saivagamas have been exported from India to South-East Asia. Not only are the main features of Hindu rituals practised in Cambodia and Indonesia based upon the Saivagamas, but also these texts are explicitly referred to in Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia. The Paramesvara, for example, is mentioned in one inscription of Bantay-srei in 976 A. D.

Some theories have been advanced regarding the origin of mountain-temples in Cambodia and of the so-called *devaraja*. One such theory supposes that the human king was divinized and represented by a linga established with his name. Such theories are no longer tenable when we consider the Agamas. Mountain-temples either symbolising Mt. Meru or being built on tombs are erected according to the Agamic prescriptions. *Devaraja* is not merely a god-king, but is Siva himself as king of the gods, Brahman, Visnu and Indra. He is naturally represented by a linga which may be designated with the name of the king who established it.²

In modern times, in the Buddhist court of Cambodia and Thailand, the so-called "Brahmins" who have been in charge of State ceremonies are not spiritual descendants of the Hindu priests of the Khmer empire period. They mainly came from the Coromandel coast and belonged to the Kailasaparampara, a Saiva group still flourishing in Tamil nadu.³ Their texts in Sanskrit—texts they no longer understand—are inspired by the Saivagamic rituals and also quote the Vedas very often. Their Tamil texts are hymns, both Saiva and Vaisnava.⁴ These "Brahmins" represent a second Agamic wave of Hindu influence on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The previous one had been more important, beginning in the first centuries of the Christian or Saka era. By that time Vedic ritual had already been virtually abandoned, despite the fact the Vedic texts were still sacred and still inspired religious and cosmological doctrines. Agamic practices, such as *agnikarya*, *arcanas* and *pūja*, were more popular than

Vedic *yajna* and great Vedic ceremonies like *agnistoma*, *asvamedha*, and others. The Epics, *Puranas*, *Dharmasastras*, *Arthasastra*, *Vyakarana* and scientific books of medicine and astronomy were imported from India side by side with Buddhist scriptures. But these texts did not give rules for religious practice. These have been supplied by the technical manuals — The *Tantras* or *Agamas*.

The Western notion of Tantrism separates the corresponding practices from "orthodox" Hinduism (represented by *Smritis*, Epics, *Puranas* and *Darsanas*) and evokes images of magical and sexual practices as characteristic of the *Tantras*. That is the consequence of paying exclusive attention to such practices as prescribed in some peculiar Buddhist *Tantras* and parallel Hindu sectarian texts. But the ordinary *Saivagamas* or *Tantras* are simply the detailed manuals of general *Saivism*, just as *Pancaratra-samhitas* are those of general *Vaisnavism*.

The classical list of *Saivagamas* is as follows :

1. Kamikagama
2. Yogajagama
3. Cintya —
4. Karana —
5. Ajita —
7. Suksma —
8. Sahasra —
9. Amsumat —
10. Suprabheda —
11. Vijaya —
12. Nisvasa —

13. Svayambhuva -
14. Anala
15. Vira -
16. Raurava -
17. Makuta -
18. Vimala -
19. Candrajnana -
20. Bimba -
21. Prodigita -
22. Lalita -
23. Siddha
24. Santana -
25. Sarvokta -
26. Paramesvara
27. Kirana -
28. Vatula -

Several of these texts seem to be lost. Many are restricted to one or two *padas* instead of four. The priests of the temples ordinarily keep the *kriyapadas*, which are specially useful for them to perform the rites

There are also a number of *upagamas* and secondary technical manuals or *paddhatis*, in Sanskrit, also often translated into Tamil. The most important authors of these manuals have been Isanasivaguru, Aghorasivacarya and Somasambhu. The *Somasambhu-paddhati* belongs to the XI century. This text is being translated into French because it is a standard text of Agamic ritual. ⁵

But the ritual and the technical practices of yoga are not separable from the doctrine, because the full

practice of Saiva religion includes the knowledge of Siva as Supreme Being producing the world from himself, under the influence of his Sakti who has generally three aspects : Jnanasakti (by whom he gets the notion of the world). Icchasakti (by whom he wishes to enjoy this world), and Kriyasakti (by whom the world is created). As far as man is concerned the doctrine refers to him a *pasu* (a cow). Siva is the *pati* who takes care of the *pasu*, afflicted by the *pasa*, the bondage which is constituted by the world and the human condition in this world.

This doctrine is fundamental to the Sanskrit Agamas and also to the Tamil Saiva Siddhanta. The Saiva Siddhanta is referred to by name in one inscription of Kailasanatha's temple at Kancipuram, perhaps as early as the seventh century.

This doctrine attained 'great popularity in Tamil Nadu thanks to Meykantatevar ("the tevar—a name of a caste—who has seen the Truth")^A, author of the *Civananapotam* and thanks to such of his followers as Civananacittiyar^B. The *Civananapotam* is considered to be a commentary on twelve stanzas from the *Rauravagama*. But these stanzas have not been traced in the text presently at our disposal. ⁶

Before Meykantatevar *Saiva Siddhanta* principles had been described in a large collection of stanzas known as the *Tirumantiram* by Tirumular. The poetic value of the works is great, but veiled allusions and double meanings make it sometimes obscure. The author is considered to be a *Cittar* (Skt. *siddha*) in

A. Tevar means a celestial

B. Arul Nandi who is the author of *Civananacittiyar*.

possession of marvellous powers (*astamahasiddhi*). According to his legend, he met cows which were in danger because their cowherd had died. In order to save the cows he entered the cowherd's corpse. That is an image which recalls the compassion of Siva as Pati taking care of the *pasu-s*. Tirumular claims to have been instructed by Nandi, who is Siva himself in the guise of an anthropomorphic god with a bull's head (Nandikesvara).

The *Tirumantiram* deals extensively with the practice of yoga, sometimes in an original way. For example, *taranaï* (Skt. *dharana*) is understood not simply as a fixation of the attention but also as the stopping of breath (kumbhaka) together with the awakening of the consciousness of Siva's unity. The symbolism of ritual yogic practices like the awakening of Kundalinisakti is also revealed. The text serves as a guide by means of Psychosomatic exercises towards the Supreme goal.

These exercises, ordinarily known as Hathayoga are more ancient than it has been generally supposed. There is in the *Lalitavistara* (composed around the start of our era) a description of one practice tried by the Bodhisattva which corresponds to causing the ascension of the Kundalinisakti towards the skull. When the exercises are performed in order to reach the *astamahasiddhi*, they are characteristic of the *siddha-s* the "Perfected". The name *Saiva Siddhanta* has a double meaning : "Demonstration of Siva's truth" and final term for the "Saivite Perfect ones" ,

In any case, the teachings of the Agamas in their *carya* and *yogapadas*, like similar teachings in various manuals, ⁷ are essential for individual ritual and for their prescriptions of the *kriyapadas* for the public cult.

This public cult consists first in the daily service of the God in the temple. He is treated like a king in his palace. He is awakened and receives everything for bathing, eating, enjoying music and dance, etc.

During the festivals, (*mahotsavas*) he is carried outside in procession. The ritual also includes oblations in fire (*homa*) and sprinkling of water (*snapana*, *kumbhabhiseka* etc) ... Symbolism plays a great role in the ritual. For example, in the different kinds of *snapana* (bathing), the vessels in use represent Siva, Sakti, around them, the gods of the universe as conceived in the Agamic cosmology. They also receive samples of precious things and medicinal plants. They are established in fixed places, as are the Buddhist deities in the famous Tantric mandalas.

All the rites must be accompanied by recitation of formulae (*mantra*, *astra*, *kavaca* etc), enunciation of condensed symbolic syllables (*bija*) and also by gestures (*mudras*).

Vedic *rc* and *yajus* are also prescribed in some Agamas (*Ajitagama* for example), but they must be excluded according to others.

The ritual may be performed or conducted only by persons having received an appropriate *diksa*. These

do not always belong to the Brahmanical class, though they are commonly termed "Brahmins". The *diksa* for certain Agamas, is more important than birth. Nevertheless, those who order the ritual, the *acarya* or *desika*, must be Brahmins. The ordinary officiants in Tamil, the *gurukkal*, are not recognised as regular Brahmins. That is in accordance with the general situation in India. Regular Brahmins are characterized more by knowledge and technical science than by sacerdotal functions. In fact, the majority of Brahmins are not priests and the majority of priests are not Brahmins. Even the Vedic *brahmana* did not perform any ritual operation ; rather, he surveyed the ceremony, intervening with his science only in case of faults.

But the Saiva doctrine of the Agamas, emphasizing, as they do, knowledge and ritual observances more than lineage, has helped to open the highest religious practice to non-Brahmins.

The Saiva cult together with the Sakti cult has been the most widespread throughout India and even in all the countries which have received a strong Hindu influence. This cult is based on the *Agamas*. So the role of these Saivagamas has been and still is fundamental in the Saiva ritual system.

Notes

1. G Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 1, Hanoi, 1937, pp. 150-154.

2. J. Filliozat, 'New researches on the relations between India and Cambodia', *INDICA*, 3. 2. Sept. 1966, pp. 95-106. And *Leghvarabandhab*, pp. 454-465.

3. *Kailasparampara* Felicitation volumes of South East Asian Studies presented to H. H. Prince Dhanī Nivat, Vol. II, Bangkok, 1965, pp 241 247 and *Laghuprabandhah*, pp. 394-400.

4. Neelakanta Sarma - *Textes sanskrits et tamouls de Thaïlande*. Publ. Institut français d' Indologie, n°47. Pondicherry, 1972.

5. Cf, Helene Brunner, *Somasambhupaddhati*, Publications Institut français d' Indologie n° 25, 2 vol , Pondicherry, 1963-1968.

6. N.R Bhatt, *Rauravagama*, ed ,2 Vol., publications of the Institut français d' Indologie, 1961-1972.

7. One has been recently published : Tara Michael, *Sivayogaratna*. Publ, Institut français d' Indologie, n° 53, Pondicherry, 1975.

XI The Puraanam of Rudra Pasupati Naayanaar

[This Puraanam as indited by St. Sekkizhaar is given here in English translation. To help the reader understand the core and true content of this Puraanam, we have printed in this volume the wondrous article of Bruce Long, entitled: "Rudra As An Embodiment of Divine Ambivalence In The Satarudriya Stotram."

Rudra Pasupati is mentioned as the seventeenth Naayanaar in St. Sundarar's Tiru-th-Tonda-th-Tokai which forms the basis and foundation over which the grand edifice of the Periya Puraanam is reared. Ed.]

"I am a serviteur of Muruka and Rudra Pasupati."
Tiru-th-Tonda-th-Tokai

1. Great Tiru-th-Thalaiyoor among all towns, is
Endowed with superior excellence; it is situate
In the land of the Cauvery, and its fields
And grôves get richly watered;
Here flourish flawless families galore,
Well-endowed and lacking nothing.
2. The fire of the sacrificial pit tended by Brahmins
Supplied them with rain; the dense gardens
—Fragrant and flowery—, supplied them with honey,
The kine gave unto the Lord the *panchakavya*;
The town bestowed on men
Dharma, Niti and Saalpu.

[Dharma, Niti and Saalpu are three untranslatable words. The reader may be familiar with Dharma and Niti but not Saalpu. The Kural says:

"Love, modesty, beneficence, benignant grace
And truth are the five pillars of *Saalpu's* resting
place "

Saalpu is fulness, perfection, complete excellence.]

3. In that grace-abounding town
From the family of Brahmins
Firmly established in the truth of the Vedas,
He, the pure one, came to be born;
He was called *Pasupatiyaar*;
In love he served the Lord whose mount
—The red-eyed Bull—, is *Vishnu*,
And whose Consort is the liana-like
Daughter of rich and auric *Himavant*.
4. Chanting *Sri Rudram*, this Brahmin hailed
The flower-feet of the Lord unknown to *Vishnu*.
His heart poised in Vedic devotion,
In love and without break,
He was ever chanting *Rudram*
Which is treasured by the Vedas.
Thus he thrived, established
In the ministry of chanting.
5. As the birds twittered endlessly
And the honey-bees hummed,
He would enter the pool where burgeon
Fragrant red lotuses
Like a blaze of flame on water,
And where *Varaal* and *Kayal* leaped and rolled.
[*Varaal* and *Kayal* are two of the fish varieties.]
6. Thither would he stand
Neck-deep in the cool lucid water.

Hold his hands, above his head, folded in
adoration,
And practise the purposive chanting of
Sri Rudram
In loving devotion of the Lord
In whose matted hair white-waved Ganga
Flowed and overflowed

7. He who was like Brahma throned on lotus
Chanted Sri Rudram — the fruit of the rare Vedas—
During broad day-light and eventide, without fail;
When he chanted thus for some days
He attained at-one-ment;
The Lord of Uma was pleased.

[The state of at-one-ment is the highest. It is the advaitic union of Saiva Siddhantam, the Kaivalya of Vedantam. The Greek phrase : "monogenes huios" referred to in the Greek Testament (John 1 : 18) is akin to this.]

8. The Primal Lord approved of
The loving servitor's glorious and rare askesis
And his excelling mastery
And well-ordered incantation
Of the Vedic mantras,
And blessed him to abide
In the flawless Siva-loka.

[Mantras are not to be articulated with indifference. They are to be recited en regle. This calls for patience, practice and unflagging devotion.]

9. As he chanted Sri Rudram
 With ever-during love
 He came to abide beneath the gracious
 Dancing feet of the Lord,
 And came to be hailed by the world
 With the renowned name "Rudra Pasupatiyaar."

[The life of this Naayanaar may appear to be simple. True, it is divinely simple. However this simplicity is not easy of accomplishment. Centuries have rolled by, since he passed into the Siva-loka. However, we are yet to hear of Rudra-Pasupati, the second.]

10. Having hailed the glory of Rudra Pasupatiyaar
 Who was blessed to abide beside Him
 And hail Him of the sharp trident,
 We now proceed to hymn
 The divine devotee : "Naalai-p-Povaar"
 Who-ministered
 Without the temple and without the precincts
 Of fortified Tillai.

[Though the Puraanam ended with stanza 9, yet St. Sekkizhaar would add one more stanza which would act as a connecting link in the catena.]

XII Rudra as an Embodiment of Divine Ambivalence in the Satarudriya Stotram

[The author of this essay is J. Bruce Long, Director, Blaisdell Institute (Claremont, California). He has closely studied the the scriptures of Saivism and is therefore entitled to indite *ex cathedra* on Saivism.

Where eminent writers and translators like J. Muir, A. A. Macdonell, A. B. Keith, Nicol Macnicol, J. Gonda and J. N. Farquhar failed, our author had succeeded. For the first time a near-perfect interpretation of the Satarudriya Stotram is available to the student of Saivism.

The article printed hereunder is truly an eye-opener. It silences the vociferous misinterpreters. The wealth of notes appended to this article attests the thorough-going intellect of the author.

By this article and the one on MAHASIVARATRI (Religious Festivals In South India and Sri Lanka, Manohar, 1982), the author will be gratefully remembered by true Saivites for generations to come. Ed.]

It was common practice for Vedic priests to invoke deities in the pantheon by presenting oblations of food and drink while singing hymns of praise (*samana-s*, *mantra-s*, *stotra-s*, *sukta-s*). The hymns were composed either as intricate poetic verses (*sukta-s*) or as simple strings of sacred formulae (*stotra-s*). The recitations served as an oral counterpart to the sacramental acts of constructing the altar, kindling the fire and presenting the oblations in the fire. In Vedic religion, the offering of sacrifice and the recitations were two complementary aspects of a single ritual performance.

It is the purpose of this paper to explore ways in which the sacred hymn and sacrificial ritual known as the *Satarudriya* reflect the image of Divinity during the Vedic period and how this notion of Divinity is consistent with the religious experience of "god-consciousness" of its devotees. We will do this, first, by analyzing the text of the hymn as well as its accompanying ritual, and secondly, by interpreting these materials critically with the help of Richard R. Niebuhr's discussion of religious experience

Rudra as Divine Ambivalence

Around the turn of the century, the British Indologist, A. A. Macdonell, attempting to characterize the basic features of the Vedic gods, observed that "Personification has, however, nowhere in Vedic mythology attained to the individualized anthropomorphism characteristic of the Hellenic gods. The Vedic deities have but very few distinguishing features, while many attributes and powers are shared by all alike." He believes the reason many deities share numerous traits in common has to do with the fact that "the departments of nature which they represent have often much in common, while their anthropomorphism is comparatively undeveloped".¹ However, if Sri Aurobindo's contention is true, that, contrary to the opinion of nineteenth century Indologists, few of the Vedic deities represent, "departments of nature" in a simple and unequivocal sense,² then, we must seek another explanation for the undeveloped nature of anthropomorphism in the Vedas. One possible explanation is that Vedic priests understood Divinity to be manifested within the world in multivalent terms:

both simple and multiple, both personal and impersonal or transpersonal. In many instances, a single deity is presented in various guises and the domain of his power is extended either by elevating him to a lofty and transcendent position (as with Varuna) or by multiplying the departments of nature and society over which he exercises control (as with Rudra). In this way, both the unified and differentiated, the personal and impersonal dimensions of divinity were reflected in a realistic and vivid fashion. Further, the Vedic poets extended the realms over which a particular deity exercised jurisdiction by multiplying the number of names, epithets, character traits, heroic deeds and divine powers which were believed to belong properly to that god, until, in the end they declared his sovereignty to be universal in scope.

While the Vedic poets applied this principle of *multiple denomination* to all the deities in the pantheon to some degree, they developed it in a most elaborate fashion in the case of Rudra.³ As many Indologists have remarked previously, an impressive number and diversity of names and epithets are assigned to Rudra throughout every phase of Indian religion. He is the multiform deity par excellence. As one scholar has put it, "His very character lent itself admirably to splitting up into partial manifestations as well as to assimilation of divine or demonic powers of cognate nature, were they Aryan or non-Aryan".⁴ The priests invoked him with as many pleasing names and attributes as his nature and the particular occasion would allow, in hopes that, by doing so, they might avert the outbursts of wrath for which he is so renowned, and earn his benevolent favour.

With the possible exception of Varuna, Rudra⁵ is the only god in the entire company of Vedic deities who is conceived to be a radically ambivalent deity. He is wrathful, terrifying and unpredictable, yet a god who also possesses the capacity to act benevolently toward mankind and other creatures in granting remedies for diseases and providing other boons basic to human welfare⁶. From Vedic times to the present Rudra's character has been distinguished by a multifarious nature reflected in an impressive variety of epithets, powers and deeds ; these attributes are often expressed in bipolar terms, becoming manifest in patterns of dynamic ambiguity.⁷

Even in the *Rg-veda* (I. 114 ; II. 33 ; VI. 46), Rudra is represented by a far greater number of physical features and character traits than one might expect of a deity who was supposed to occupy a subordinate position among the gods at that time.⁸ The practice of representing Rudra as a divinity with a multifarious personality had become an established convention by the time of the *Atharva-veda*⁹ where every part of his body is venerated *ad seriatum* : his face, eyes, skin, form, appearance, belly, tongue, teeth and even the odor emanating from his body. Further, his multiformity is represented by parts of the cosmic, animal and human realms over which he exercises divine sovereignty : the five creatures (*pancapasu* : cows, horses, men, sheep and goats) ; the four cardinal directions ; heaven, earth, and atmosphere ; all creatures that are living (*atman*) and breathing (*anu*) upon the earth ; and, finally, the beasts of the forest, wild animals of the woods, birds, cattle and marine monsters. As if

compelled to provide complete certification of Rudra's "omniform" and "omnipresent" nature the poet addresses him as the "All-formed one" (*visvarupa*), and as that divine power which, "at a single glance [can] scan the entire earth; from the eastern you strike the northern ocean."

The practice of depicting Rudra's character as a manifold composite of divine traits and of identifying each aspect of his nature with a particular segment of the universe, served as the model for the composition of the *Satarudriya-stotra* and, perhaps, for the composition of numerous other hymns at later stages of the Indian tradition. It is because the *Satarudriya* expresses divine multivalence so well and because we believe the hymn and the ritual to have influenced the development of liturgies later, that they deserve a more extensive scholarly investigation than they have received.

Form and Function of the Satarudriya Litany in the Vedic Tradition

One of the most effective modes of sacred eulogy developed by the Vedic poets is the hymn (*stotra*), composed of a lengthy series of declarations of "homage" or "obeisance" to a god's many names, traits, abodes, attendants and famous deeds.¹⁰ The most ancient, persistent and revered example of this genre of hymn in the Indian religious tradition, is the *Satarudriya-stotra* ("The Hymn of Praise to the Hundred Rudras" or "...Rudra in his Hundred Aspects").¹¹ (See pp 123 for a new English translation of the hymn by this author.)

The *Satarudriya - stotra*¹² is a litany in praise of Rudra, the multifarious deity represented in Vedic literature as the divine embodiment of the powers of nature and society in both their terrible and benevolent phases. The hymn is recited in accompaniment to the 425 oblations presented to the one hundred Rudras (or to Rudra in his one hundred aspects), at the conclusion of the ritual construction of the fire-altar (*agnicayana*). The hymn is composed of a series of magico-religious formulae (sixty - six *mantra*-s or *sloka*-s of variable lengths) which, taken as a whole, presents a vivid and varied picture of the popular conception of Rudra at that time.

The *Satarudriya - stotra*¹³ constitutes a complete chapter (*kanda*-16) of the *Vajasaneyi-samhita* and is considered traditionally to form an independent Upanishad. Although only a small number of the formulae from this hymn are quoted or cited in the *Brahmana*-s, the hymn was undoubtedly one of the most popular and widely-used liturgical hymns in ancient *Brahmanical* tradition. Even today it is considered by Saivas throughout the subcontinent of India to be the most sacred and efficacious of hymns. Saiva priests chant the litany in its entirety twenty-seven times during the twenty-four hour celebration of the Great Night of Siva (*Mahasivaratri*), from Kedarnath in India's far north to Cape Comorin in the south.¹⁴

The sanctity of the *Satarudriya* hymn for Siva's devotees is greatly augmented by the fact that the five-syllabled invocation to Siva (i.e., *pancakshara-mantra* or simply *pancaksham*), *namah Shivaya* - makes its first

appearance in this sacred text. Like the *Purusa Sukta* (RV X. 90), the *Satarudriya Stotram* (or simply the *Rudram*, as it is popularly known) is chanted in the course of both domestic and public rituals, and on all other occasions when Rudra is given a ritual ablution (*abhisekam*).¹⁵

The primary characteristic of the hymn is its portrayal of the "pantheistic" form of Siva¹⁶ as the highly volatile embodiment of Divinity within every form of life in nature and society. The recitation of this hymn is considered by Saivas to be one of the most efficacious modes of meditation (*sadhana*) upon God in his many manifestations.¹⁷

The oblations which are accompanied by the recitation of this litany are familiar to the *Brahmanas*.¹⁸ Even some of the minor Upanisads (i.e., the *Jabala* and the *Atharvasiras*) extol the spiritual virtues of the *Satarudriya Stotram*.¹⁹ The profound veneration with which the devotees of Siva regard this litany is illustrated further by the claim of the 7th century South Indian Saiva singer-saint, Appar, that, "just as the Vedas and their six *angas* (branches) were the precious jewel to the (ancient) Brahmanas, so was *namah sivaya* to himself (Appar) and his followers".²⁰

The Satarudriya Stotram as a Paradigm of Namajapa

In the *Mahabharata*, there appeared for the first time a mode of religious worship consisting of the recitation of the divine names (*namajapa*) of God.²¹

Namajapa could be performed either within the context of a sacred rite or as an independent propitiatory act. This type of hymnody is most fully exemplified in the 'Hymn of a Thousand Names' (*sahasra-nama-stotram*) addressed to Siva, to Visnu and to the goddess Durga, in the *Mahabharata*.²² In the *Mahabharata*, as in the Vedas, the Divine names are recited primarily in order to persuade the deity being addressed to provide the devotee with some desired boon—e.g., numerous progeny, victory in battle, safety from misfortune, the promotion of prosperity and health, the acquisition of religious merit and the entrance into close personal communion with the deity himself. In addition, each of the epithets in the hymn served as a *mnemonic* device to aid the worshipper in recalling the virtues, powers, exploits and offices of the deity for purposes of meditation and worship. In post-Vedic times, with the emergence of popular sectarian religion, these strings of names were recited *ad seriatum*, while counting the beads on a rosary (*japamala*, *aksamala*).

While the first *bona fide* example of this genre of hymn makes its appearance in epic literature, there are numerous selections in the Vedas where *rsi*-s and sacrificial priests (*purohita*-s) invoke various deities by reciting hymns composed of strings of epithets which delineate the many attributes of the particular deity being addressed. Given the relatively close structural parallel between the *Satarudriya* and the *Sahasra-nama stotra*, there is a firm basis for arguing that the former composition may have served, either directly or indirectly, as a model for the composition of the latter. Although we cannot be sure that the composers of these epic

hymns consciously utilized the Vedic hymn as a model, they must have been acquainted with the Vedic example (given the fact that the *Satarudriya* appears as a sub - *parvan* in the *Mahabharata*) and may have employed the earlier hymn as a working model.

The religious ideology behind the composition and recitation of the *Satarudriya* might be described as the 'mystique of the Sacred Utterance'. The Vedic priests believed that the hymns and ritual formulae were oral embodiments of cosmic forces. Not only couplets (*sloka-s*), lines (*mantra-s*) and quarter - lines (*pada-s*), but words and even individual syllables (*aksara-s*) are homologized with particular parts of the cosmos and with various deities who are believed to be in control of the many departments of the natural and social orders. On this basis, the recitation of the formulae on the appropriate occasion serves to coax the divinities so addressed to intervene in the world process on behalf of the sacrificer and his kinsmen. Along with this belief in the efficacy of the Sacred Word is the conviction that the Divine Names serve not merely as figurative or symbolic representations of the god so-named, but as concrete and highly efficacious embodiments of the spiritual essence of the deity himself. In brief, sacred words of invocation and the divine power(s) designated by the terms, are thought to be one and the same within the context of the sacrifice. ¹³

In the course of the *Satarudriya* rite, the primary concern of the *yajamana* was focused at the point where each recitation should occur and upon the proper

order of the various chants. The Vedic priests seem to have been less concerned with the religious or theological meanings of the formulae, prayers and hymns, than with the actual words recited and the ritual actions performed in the manner prescribed by the ritual manuals. This meticulous concern for the correct placing of each item in the ritual and for the careful adherence to every injunction in the ritual texts grew out of a conviction that arranging words and deeds in right correlation would produce the desired results automatically.²⁴ The gods were believed to be willing and able to grant the boons provided the eulogies were correctly formulated and the oblations sufficiently generous. The more elaborate the panegyrics and the more generous the offerings, the greater the likelihood that the desired objectives would be realized.

Furthermore, the text pertaining to the *Satarudriya-homam* (SBIX. 1.1) contains numerous examples of one of the more prominent developments in liturgical and literary form during the period of the *Brahmanas*: namely, the formulation of arcane or mystical connections between an entity (e.g., a religious functionary, human virtue, efficacious deed, animal or some other object) and one or more entities within the divine sphere (e.g., a specific deity, planetary body, or divine power) believed to share either a common nature or similar properties and powers. These mystical links were established by means of what might be described as a "theological pun".²⁵ The priests or liturgical composers sought to augment the pleasure of the gods in the sacrificial offering by fashioning increasingly fanciful and ingenious examples of such puns. It was their

belief that the gods would reward the devotees in proportion to the quantity and quality of such eulogies and the degree of ingenuity displayed by these linguistic associations. The priests certified the religious validity of such practices by declaring that "the gods adore the esoteric". It should be noted, of course, that the procedures employed in identifying two objects, the names of which are composed of similar phonemes, in most instances, transgress all the rules of grammar and linguistic analysis. But, in such cases, adherence to the laws of proper linguistic derivation gave place to the need to articulate certain *deep* theological meanings that could be expressed in no other way.

Analysis of Rudra's Character in the *Satarudriya Stotram*

The Rudra of the *satarudriya* is essentially the same deity who appears under that name in the *Rg-veda*, except that in the former text his personality has been impressively augmented and he appears under essentially different images. He is still the same ambivalent and unpredictable god—an archer deity whose arrows inflict both men and animals with disease, misfortune and death but, at the same time, a god in whom there is a great capacity for benevolence. He lives in faraway places, in the clouds or on the mountains and hills, on lofty perches from which he shoots his arrows of ambivalent qualities, but, by and large, at a significant distance from civilized places. Like any ordinary woodsman, he wanders about (primarily at night) through woods and fields, along paths or near places where the

unwary traveller may be victimized by ominous powers and horrifying creatures.

The *Satarudriya Stotram* represents Rudra's physical appearance in such graphic and various terms that one wonders why he was never represented in iconographic form during the Vedic period. In spite of an abundance of ferocious and grotesque qualities in his character, he is said to be of benign (*aghora*) and auspicious (*siva*) form, "not dreadful or vile-looking". Long golden locks flow down his blue colored neck onto a body that is described as brown, copper, ruddy and bluish-red or purple. His two arms are invoked apprehensively as the wielders of the bow and arrows which are sources of both disease and health. He is both tall and dwarfish²⁶ With his one-thousand eyes he views the entire world at all points on the compass at a single glance. Clad in an animal skin, he leads the life of a rude uncultured woodsman or mountaineer (*giritra, girisanta, girisa*). In this state, in wild areas Rudra is the fearless generalissimo of countless bands of spirit-troops (*satvana*), "innumerable Rudras dwelling in the sky in the atmosphere and on the earth ..." These attendants of Rudra are imagined to take the form of ghosts, goblins and "grotesque and ferocious spirits" who roam about the countryside in the dead of night (*naktamcarabdhya*). As extensions or external manifestations of the spiritual essence of Rudra, these beings are fierce (*krura*) and deformed (*virupa*) in appearance, with blue necks (*nilagriva*) and white throats (*sitikantha*). By extension of this same role, Rudra is the Master of animals (*pasupati*). He lives with the animals of the forests and deserts, knows

their life-patterns and controls their destinies. While he is also said to abide with cattle in the shelter of cattle-pens, Rudra's role as *Pasupati* seems, during the Vedic period, to place him primarily in the company of wild and untamed beasts that haunt uncultivated areas in forests and deserts and threaten both men and animals with injury and death

He prefers isolated places frequented by wild beasts, goblins, and malicious spirits for he is characteristically identified with paths (*srutyaya*), roads (*pathyaya*), mountain slopes (*nipyaya*) and rugged areas (*katyaya*), with forests (*vanyaya*), woods (*aranyaya*) and crossroads (*catuspathyaya*).

Further, Rudra is the patron deity of various classes of artisans, including blacksmiths, carpenters and huntsmen. Like Pusan, with whom he shares a number of other traits in common, he is the divine pathfinder who guides and protects travellers through areas that are fraught with ominous dangers. As an inhabitant of the wilderness areas he is the god of tribal peoples, both Aryan and non-Aryan, who inhabit the hills and forests of northern India: the Nisadas (wild aboriginal tribes of non-Aryan ancestry, probably hunters, robbers and fishermen and possibly identifiable with the present-day Bhils who live in western and north-central India, renowned in the past for brigandage and lawlessness); and the Punjisthas (fishermen and according to Mahidhara, fowlers). He manifests himself to "female water-bearers", "in sprouting grass", in dessicated things", "in the dust and the mist", "among

herds", and in cattle-pens". He exists "in mind, the cloud and the lightning", "In incantations, punishments and prosperity".

His devotees invoke him on his ferocious side and attempt to placate his wrath by reciting epithets and character traits which reflect his capacity to visit misfortune upon whomever he wills. Among his many terrifying (*ghora*) aspects, are these: fierce (*ugraya*) and terrific (*bhimaya*), master of animals (*pasunampataye*) whose shafts inflict animals with disease and disaster, "the bellowing lord of combat-troops", "lord of the cheater, the arch-deceiver, brigands... murderers and stealers" "lord of the deformed (*virupebhya*) and the omniform (*visvarupebhya*)".

Thus far, this survey of the conception of the character and roles of Rudra in the *Satarudriya Stotram* has focused entirely upon the terrifying and destructive side of his nature. However, inasmuch as this litany is a hymn of praise recited primarily to gratify Rudra and to cultivate his benevolent grace, the number of benign epithets attributed to him far exceed the malignant. As benevolent provider and protector from misfortune; Rudra is addressed as "advocate" or "deliverer" (*adhyavocad*); "first divine healer (*prathamodaivyo bhesak*)" "he whose medicines bring continual healing"; "most benevolent one (*sumangalah*)" "bountiful (*midhuse*)"; and more than that, "most bountiful (*midhustama*)"; "lord of the prosperous (*pustanam pataye*)"; "lord of food and of all moving things"; "he who extended the earth (*bhuvantaye*)"; "bestower of welfare (*sangave*)"; and "source of

prosperity (*sambhavaya*)". Finally, a few of the epithets which will become his most prominent names in the epics and *puranas* appear in this hymn ; i.e., Auspicious One (*sivaya*) and cause of prosperity (*sankaraya*), as well as Divine Lord (*isano bhagavah*).

Most of the western interpreters of this hymn (among whom we might mention Arbman, Hillebrandt, Weber, Macdonell, and Barth) have tended to adopt an overly simplified view of Rudra in this text, by stressing his fierce and destructive aspects to the almost total neglect of his benevolent and auspicious features.³⁷ True, many of the epithets and attributes assigned to Rudra in this hymn reflect a deity who manifests himself to mankind in the form of a formidable, frightening and even destructive power. But Rudra must be viewed as a deity whose nature is quintessentially bipolar and ambivalent.³⁸ He is the god from whom all the opposites spring into dynamic manifestation (life and death, good and evil, pleasure and pain, beauty and ugliness). He is the divine agent of both procreation and dissolution, throughout the natural and social spheres. He is the divine source and cause of both illness and health, poverty and wealth, terror and bliss. When he manifests himself by means of his auspicious and sublime form (*siva-*, *aghora-tanu*), he provides all the energies required by living beings for survival and growth. When, on the other hand, he operates by means of his terrible and demonic aspects (*bhima-*, *ghora-tanu*), he removes living creatures by withholding those same life-supports. Hence, he must be viewed, even at this early period of Indian religious history, as a

deity who encompasses a wealth of traits, powers and activities, a complex network of features that resists every attempt to derive a univocal pattern.

The Character of Rudra in the *Satarudriya* Oblation

Our understanding of the precise nature of Rudra and of the type of "religious consciousness" which he provokes in his devotees can be brought into sharper focus by surveying his various modes of manifestation and activity recorded in the *Brahmanical* texts pertaining to the *Satarudriya-homam*. Like the Psalms in the Old Testament,²⁹ plainsong chants in the Catholic Missal³⁰ and congregational hymns in Protestant hymnals the hymns in the Vedas were not intended to serve as mere "musical accompaniment to the visible actions of the liturgy. Rather, like the Hebrew and Christian counterparts, the Vedic hymns were composed and recited as canticle equivalents to the outward activities of worship. As stated earlier, the hymns of praise, the visible movements of the rituals and the sacrificial oblations are three different aspects, of a single mode of religious veneration.

According to the *Satapatha Brahmana* (IX. 1.1 ff.), where the prescriptions for the performance of the *Satarudriya homam* are given in greatest detail, the rite is said to be composed of 425 oblations offered into the sacrificial fire at the completion of the piling up of the fire-altar (*agnicayana*) when Agni,³¹ the divine personification of the sacred fire, has come to be identified with Rudra.³² The homologization of Agni

and Rudra symbolizes the fact that the sacred fire, which has received great quantities of *ghee* (clarified butter) at regular intervals during the construction of the altar, has begun to flare up and crackle with impressive and terrifying (*raudra*) force.³³ The altar fire is the outward and visible manifestation of the dual divinity, Rudra-Agni in his most awesome and terrifying form (*ghera-tanu*).³⁴ Or, in more metaphysical terms, the altar fire has been transmuted into a symbol for the divine force which courses through plants, men, animals and celestial bodies with a powerful thrust that threatens to destroy the very forms of life it sustains.

After the gods have bestowed upon Rudra - Agni "that highest form" (*rupamuttamam*) that is, immortality (*amrta*)³⁵ He stands upon the altar in the form of the sacrificial flame "longing for food" (*annamicchamana-s*). Knowing of Rudra's voracious appetite, even the gods are fearful that he might do them harm.³⁶ In order to placate His wrath and evoke his pleasure, the gods determine to provide Him with food, in the knowledge that, "thereby we shall appease (*samayama*, gratify, soothe) Him".

At this stage, the officiating priest recites a *mantra* containing a "theological pun" on the sanskrit terms for "appeased" (*santa*), and "one-hundred" (*sata*). This "play on words" provides the necessary mystical connection between the name of the *homam* and the primary objective of the ritual itself. The text states that they gathered the food called *Santadevatya* and satisfied (*samayams*) with it. Inasmuch as they satisfied (*sam*) the god (*deva*) by means of this food,

it is known as *Santadevatya* (i.e., that which satisfies the god) and *Santadevatya* is the esoteric equivalent of *Satarudriya*, "for the gods adore the esoteric" (*paro'ksakamahidevah*).

The officiating priest (*adhvaryu*), then offers an oblation of wild sesame seeds (*jartilair*), which represent both cultivated (*gramyam*) and wild-growing (*aranyam*) foods,³⁷ in order to satisfy Rudra-Agni's hunger and to provide him with the nourishment which he demands for the successful performance of his divine function. The priest then places these sesame seeds upon an *arka*-leaf (*arkaparnena*)³⁸ and deposits that offering upon three enclosing-stones (*parisritsu*) which represent the three Agnis (the earthly, atmospheric and celestial fires, respectively).³⁹ By offering the oblation to Rudra-Agni, the mystical homologization between these two gods is ritually completed. In verse 9 of *Adhyaya* 1, the *Brahmana* provides an 'esoteric' rationale for presenting the *arka*-leaf to Rudra-Agni.⁴⁰ "He offers with an *arka*-leaf; for the tree arose from the resting place of that deity (*devasyasayat*): he thus satisfies (*prinati*) him with his own portion (*bhagena*), with his own life-sap (*rasena*)."

Following this presentation the officiant offers an oblation composed of flour made from *Gavedhuka* grass (*Coix Barbata*).⁴¹ The offering is laid upon the stones on the altar, for "the *Gavedhuka* plants sprang forth (*samabhavan*) in that spot where the deity lies exhausted (*visrastasayat*)". In this manner, the deity is reinvigorated and gratified by his own

life-blood (*rasena*) and by his own portion (i. e., the substance which constitutes his own being or essence).

The priest is enjoined by the *Brahmana* to place the oblation upon each one of the three enclosing stones (*parisritsu*) situated to the rear of the sacrificial area (i. e., the west corner of the left wing of the bird-shaped altar). Beginning at the southernmost tip of the area and moving toward the north,⁴² each of these stones is taller than the preceding one : the first is knee - high, the next navel-high, and the last head - high. Each stone represents one of the three levels of the universe. The offering presented at a particular level of the body of the sacrificer gratifies the Rudras who abide at the corresponding level of the cosmos. By means of these three offerings of food and ritual invocation (*svaha*), all the Rudras throughout the universe are nourished and soothed.⁴³ The officiant presents this offering while standing on the north side of the altar and facing the north.⁴⁴ He thereby satisfies Rudra "in his own region" for "in that region lies the abode of this deity" (*ha disyetasya devasya grhah*). Once the hunger of the Rudras has been satiated and their wrath tranquillized, they depart from the sacrificial area in the house of the sacrificer to the regions to the north and, henceforth, cease to threaten the health and welfare of the sacrificer and his family.⁴⁵

The myth which the *Brahmana* (SB. IX 1.1.6-7) provides as a symbolic rationale for the performance of the *Satarudriya-homam*, states that when Prajapati (the Creator and Lord of the Creatures) had become

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impotent in the course of the year, the gods abandoned him for lack of support and sustenance—all the gods, that is, except one, Wrath (*manyu*). For wrath always remains and asserts itself when a creature has become hungry and weak. Wrath expanded and remained steadfastly attached to Prajapati. This state of fury drove Prajapati to tears (*rodit*)⁴⁶ and his tears fell down upon Wrath. The water of Prajapati's tears mixed with the fire of Wrath and from that compound sprang up the divine embodiment of Wrath and Terror (i. e. Rudra, possessing one hundred heads, one thousand eyes, and one hundred quivers. The remaining drops of the mixture spread over the entire world in countless numbers (*asamkhyata*). Because these multitudinous creatures sprang (*samabhavam*) from the crying (*ruditas*), they came to be called "rudras" (i.e., the cryers or howlers).⁴⁷ Meanwhile, this multicephalus, multi-eyed and multi-quivered creature, Rudra, who is the unified embodiment of all the Rudra-powers, stood before the gods, with bow and arrow prepared, in his quest for food (*annamicchmanas*), striking them with fear (*bhisayamano*). And, as a result of the continuing presence of this offspring of the wrath-filled tears of Prajapati, "the gods were afraid of him".

The gods then appealed to Prajapati to aid them in acquiring an antidote to their terror. In response to the gods' plea, Prajapati replied, "Gather food (*annamasnai sambharata*) for him and you will gratify (*samayata*) him, thereby".

Once the priest has completed the nourishing of Rudra with the oblations of sesame seeds and the

gruel of *gavedhuka* flour, he proceeds to gratify the deity further by muttering the various formulae of the *Satarudriya Stotram*. In the course of these he recites that most salutary of invocations, *Svaha*,⁴⁸ (*sv-aha* or *su-adha*, lit. "salutations, hail") between each set of 30 formulae (SB IX 1.1.21). The mystical identification of the oblations with the formulae and the power of both to gratify the deity is affirmed by the ritual association of "the eighties" (*asityam*, i.e., the 9 sections or *anuvakas* of the litany) and the sacrificial food (*asita*, food, : "eighties means food, for by means food (and formulae) he gratifies him, thus" (verse 21). The priest offers obeisance to Rudra's wrath, his two mighty arms that wield the bow and arrows, to the bands of clansmen which sprang from Prajapati's tears of wrath, and to Prajapati himself, who, in completion of the mystical identification of all the gods and all the elements of the sacrifice, is linked with Agni and the Year. The *Adhvaryu* continues to gratify Rudra by "invoking him by his names" and identifying Rudra-Agni with the Year, the seasons, the three realms and the layers of the altar.

The official performance of the rite is concluded with a recitation of the "unstringing formulae".⁴⁹ These *mantra*-s are recited for the purpose of "unstringing" the bows of the countless Rudras "at a thousand leagues" and, thereby, rendering them powerless to harm the sacrificer and his relatives. This series of oblations is presented in reverse order to those described in vss. 11-13; that is, in a descending pattern from the mouth, to the navel, and, finally, to

the knee. In this manner, the circuit of ritual oblations is completed and, at the cosmic level, the entire world-order is rendered secure from all the disruptive effects of Rudra's wrath.

With the completion of the "descending" rites (*pratyavarohan*), along with the final propitiations of the Rudras at the three levels of the universe, the *yajamana* casts the *arka*-leaf and *arka*-stick into the "pit" (*catvare*), which the composer of this *Brahmana* takes to mean the depositing of implements into the sacred fire to be consumed. The *Satarudriya* is then identified symbolically with the altar, the Year and Agni—all of which are composed of 360 components—and with the Great Litany (*mahad uktam*), with which the rite shares in common the possession of twenty-five parts (i.e., formulae) on either side of the "eighties" (again, formulae.) The *yajamana* brings the rite to a close with a series of circumambulations of the *vedi* while sprinkling it on all sides with water (in order to drive all evil and pain into the region of *Nirrti* located in the south-western direction). This act is accompanied by the formulation of numerous mystical connections between constitutive parts of the altar and corresponding realities within the cosmos. The final resolution of the *homa* is realized by symbolically identifying the many facets of the rite with various natural phenomena and the divine powers that rule over them. This is done with a rather complex formula equating Rudra-Agni, Prajapati the altar, the *Gayatri-mantra*, the *Saman*-hymns, the three levels of the universe the two cosmic luminaries and Agni's "highest form, immortality".

The Relationship between Concepts of Divinity and Religious Experience in the Satarudriya

While the most obvious goal of this *homa* seems to be the appeasement of Agni-Rudra's wrath and the acquisition of his benevolent grace on behalf of the sacrificer and the family, other, secondary objectives are sought as well. The series of mystical correspondences which stand out most prominently in this rite (e.g., the identification of the bricks of the altar with Prajapati, of Prajapati with Agni-Rudra, of the *rasa* of the oblations with the *rasa* of both the deities and the universe) suggest that the rite is believed to serve as a means of assembling and reintegrating the various powers in the universe which have become fragmented and dispersed during the course of a year and by reintegrating such powers to infuse the entire cosmos with new life.. So conceived, the sacrifice is to be understood as that single most efficacious mechanism for the establishment and maintenance of a proper equilibrium among the various centers of power (i.e., gods, men and the natural world) and for the promotion of the uninterrupted flow of the life-forces throughout the world. In the same way, the sacrificial arena is that privileged place within the finite world where gods and men meet in spiritual communion and where each receives from the other necessary life-supports.

We have argued that previous interpretations of Rudra as a wholly "demonic deity" who provokes only fear and dread are simplistic and one-sided.⁵⁰

But even if such were the case, those responses to a deity like Rudra which take the form of fear, awe, and dread should not be interpreted in purely "negative" terms.⁵¹ On the contrary we could argue that, when properly understood, those experiences which threaten man's sense of self-confidence and well-being (whether by divine, human, or animal agencies) have "positive" as well as "negative" consequences.

This ambivalent nature of the religious experience has been observed by a variety of scholars of religion. Richard R. Niebuhr, for one, explores the nature of religious experience.⁵² While Niebuhr's analysis is general and does not regard all the varieties of religious experience and response to it, his analysis is appropriate for a consideration of the relationship between the concept of divinity and the religious experience expressed in the *Satarudriya*. He contends that *fear*, especially that type of fear which occurs within the context of an encounter with an extraordinary power, should be viewed as an "ambiguous" experience, a dual state of mind in which feelings of buoyant joy and benumbing awe are co-mingled. That is, fear is not merely a highly restricted and specialized emotional response to particular objects or situations. Rather, fear is that all-pervasive and inescapable sense of living in a state of finitude and mortality. Suffering, as he defines it, is the ambivalent sense of both "being diminished and being enlarged". Both suffering and the concomitant experience of faith form "a boundary of existence, an ever-present element of consciousness" in a world that appears to us to be a "field of energies, converging on us, shaping us, distending us, shattering us and sending

us on paths we have not chosen for ourselves".⁵³ So conceived, suffering is the "determinant of all existence", the basis of man's sense of creature-hood. Faith or faithfulness, which both complements and incorporates the element of anxiety, Niebuhr defines as "the manner in which human being comports itself within its world of power", the "way in which he accepts and addresses himself to his situation as a suffering being". Because of the paradoxical nature of human existence, the experience of faith necessarily occurs within a state of suffering and contains elements of conflict and strife, coupled with joy and harmony. Fear, whether viewed primarily as a religious, existential or psychological category, must be interpreted against the background of the dynamic, ever-changing field of human existence in a world of power.

Rudra, more than any other deity in the Vedic pantheon, manifests himself to mankind as this "infinite energy and envioning, shaping power that approaches us on alien terms", of which Niebuhr speaks in a later portion of this same work.⁵⁴ It is the alien or "wholly other" quality of Rudra's appearances and activities within the finite world that gives rise to the responses of awe and terror in his devotees.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we argue that, in the *Satatudriya* hymn and rite, Rudra is represented as a deity who uses his divine power to create multiple manifestations with ambivalent qualities.⁵⁵ In part, the fluidity of his

nature (i.e., his capacity to divide his one divine nature into numerous facets and, at the same time, to integrate within himself many disparate and antithetical phenomena in nature and society), served as a pre-condition for his elevation to the status of High God in the *Svetasvatara Upanisad* and *The Mahabharata*. Unlike most of the other Vedic gods, who lacked either the degree of concreteness (e.g., Varuna) or the proper level of generality (e.g., Pusan) required for the development of a High God status, Rudra commanded a sufficient degree of both universality and particularity to fulfil the spiritual needs of a wide variety of people over an extensive geographical area and through a lengthy expanse of time.

Even as early as the time of the *Satarudriya* (ca. 1000 B.C.), Rudra's character is marked by a configuration of traits, powers and deeds that are, at once, antithetical and complementary. Though One in essence, he is identified as the divine power which both creates and destroys, energizes and dissolves all forms of life. His ambivalent nature made possible the multiplication of his manifestations (*murtis*), during the epic and post-epic periods, in such a way that he can appear to be either malevolent (*ghora, bhairava*) or benevolent (*aghora, siva*) on different occasions or both simultaneously.

When these observations concerning Rudra's character in the *Satarudriya* are considered together with our understanding of fear / dread as an ambiguous experience, the conclusion is hard to resist that Rudra must be seen as a deity whose nature is far more complex,

exalted and multivalent than a majority of Indologists have recognized. Because he is revered as the divine source of wealth and poverty, health and illness, life and death, joy and grief, his presence provokes responses from his devotees that range from veneration and affection, to fear and dread—religious feelings that are in perfect harmony with the multifarious character of his divine nature. Even in this early period of the history of Indian religion, Rudra is recognized as a multivalent manifestation of divine power, whose activities serve both to delimit and expand, threaten and sustain the world and all the creatures that abide therein. In the religious terminology popularized by Rudolf Otto, Rudra is the *numinous* par excellence, the deity in whom The Sacred is revealed in its full multiplicity and ambiguity. As such, Rudra is the Divine reflection of man's perception of the nature of Life itself.

Notes

In the following notes, abbreviations for basic texts will be used, as follows: Mbh — *Mahabharata*; TS — *Taittiriya Samhita*; SB — *Satapatha Brahmana*; VS — *Vajasaneya Samhita*; RV — *Rg. Veda*; AV — *Atharva Veda*; SBE — *Sacred Books of the East*; TB — *Taittiriya Brahmana*; Sankh. Br. — *Sankhyayana Brahmana*; Ap. SS — *Apastambha Srauta Sutra*.

1. *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897) p. 3.
2. Sri Aurobindo, *On the Veda*. (Pondicherry, 1956), pp. 49-50
3. Consult E. Arbman *Rudra. Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus*, (Uppsala, 1922), esp. chap. I.

4. J. Gonda, *Visnuism and Sivaism: A Comparison*, (London, 1970), p. 5.
5. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 74 ff.; A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishads*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), pp. 142-50; J. Gonda, *Epithets in the Rgveda*, (The Hague, 1959), p. 126 ff.
6. See J. Gonda, *Visnuism and Sivaism*, p. 3, 20-21.
7. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious systems*, (Strassburg, 1913), p. 102 ff.
8. See R. N. Dandekar, "Rudra in the Veda", *Journal of the University of Poona*, [Humanities section], 1.1 (1953): p. 94 ff.
9. *Atharvaveda*, XI. 2.
10. A. Weber, *Indische Studien* (Berlin, 1853), II, p. 13ff
11. *Vajasaneya Samhita* XVI and *Taittiriya Samhita*, IV 5. 1-11.
12. Among the numerous translations of the *Satarudriya Stotram* into western languages, see the following: for a German translation of the *Taittiriya* rescension (of the Black Yajus School) of the text, with various readings of the *Kathaka* and the *Vajasaneyi* versions, consult A. Weber, *Indische Studien* 11, 13-47: the *Sukla Yajurveda* (also known as the *Vajasaneya*) text has been translated and transliterated by J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, (London, 1873), IV. pp. 322-31; also J. Eggeling, *The Satapatha Brahmana*, Part IV, (SBE Vol. XLIII), 150-55; and the *Taittiriya* text by

A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* entitled the *Taittiriya Samhita*. [*Harvard Oriental Series*, XIX], Cambridge, Mass., (1914), pp. 353-62.

13. Consult the following scholarly studies of the *Satarudriya Stotram*; E. Arberman, *Rudra*, pp. 221-53; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 103-04; S. Bhattacharji, "Rudra from the Vedas to the *Mahabharata*", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, pp. 41, (1960), 86-89; R. W. Frazer, "Saivism", *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, XI, p. 91 ff. Concerning the *Satarudriya-homam*, see D. J. Hoens, *Santi. A Contribution to Ancient Indian Religious Terminology*, (The Hague, 1951), pp. 128-33.

14. See my article, "Festival of Repentance: A Study of Mahasivaratri", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 22 (1972), pp. 15-38.

15. V. Raghavan, *The Indian Heritage: An Anthology of Sanskrit Literature*, (Bangalore, India, 1956), p. 20 ff.

16. Raghavan, *ibid.*, p. 21.

17. Consult esp. *Yajnavalkya Smṛti*, (v. 303-04), 308 for an assertion of its efficacy as an expiatory prayer.

18. Cf. *SB* IX 1.1.1-2 42 where specifications of the ritual performance, together with the appropriate recitations, are presented in elaborate detail.

19. See T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, trans. *Saiva Upanisads*. (The Adyar Library, 1953).

20. Appar, II. 5, cited in K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, "An Historical Sketch of Saivism", in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, (Calcutta, 1956), Vol. IV p. 70.

21. Consult J. Gonda, *Notes on Names and the Name of God in Ancient India* [Verhandeligen der Koninklijke Nederlandse, Akademie van Wetenschappen, Letter-kunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Vol 75, no. 4] (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 57-76.

22. A hymn composed of a thousand names is addressed to Siva in the *Mbh.* (XII 785 and XIII 17) and to Vishnu (XIII 149) and a briefer hymn to Uma-Durga, the malevolent aspects of Siva's consort, Parvati. (IV 6. pp. 148-103). Cf. the *Hymn to the Greatness of the Goddess (Devi-mahatmya-stotram* or the *Sridurga-saptasati*), from the *Markandeya-purana*, [Bibliotheca Indica]. trans. F. E. Pargiter, (Calcutta, 1904), Cantos LXXXI-XCIII.

23. See J. Gonda, *Notes on Names*. p. 20ff

24. L. Renou formulates this principle in most succinct terms as follows: "The duty of the *rsi*-s was to ensure the ordered functioning of the world and of religious ceremonial by reproducing the succession of cosmic events, the *ordo-rerum* in their acts and in the imagery they conceived. Seen in this light, the Veda is a vast magical synthesis expressed in symbolic terms. The images of the Vedas have ritual significance in themselves; they bring about the ordered functioning of a universe which is itself conceived as the scene of a vast sacrifice, the proto-type of the man-made sacrifice". *Religions of Ancient India*, (London, 1953); pp. 17-18;

25. E. C. Dimock, *The Literatures of India*. An Introduction, (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 47ff.

26. TS IV 5 5. h, i

27. Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* : An Historical Sketch, (London & New York, 1954), II p. 142 ; and Julius Eggeling, *The Satapatha Brahmana* (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIII), p. 150 ff

28. Wendy D. O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Siva*. (London, 1973), p. 83ff.

29. See S. Mowinckel. *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*. Trans. T. M. Horner, (Philadelphia, 1967).

30. Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, (London, 1945).

31. See SB (I 7.3.8) where it is said that "Agni is the god known among the eastern peoples as Sarya (the archer), among the Bahikas as Bhava (source of Being), as Pasupati (lord of beasts or cattle), as Rudra and as Agni". And the commentator, Sayana (Weber's edition, p. 1:4) adds, "Although, based upon the distinction of countries, there is a distinction of names... but the god (so-named) is One". Cf *Sankh. Brh.* VI 1 1-9. Again, at SB 17.3.8 it is said that "the name Agni is the most auspicious (*agnir iti eva santam*) and all the others are inauspicious".

32. The TS (II 2.10) presents a legendary account of the identity between Rudra and Agni, according to which Agni stole the store of wealth which the gods had retrieved from the demons and on being forced to return it, wept (*arodit*). From that time Agni came

to be known as Rudra (derived from the root, \sqrt{rud} = "to weep"). Cf. TS I 5.1.

33. See E. W. Hopkin's remarks in *Epic Mythology*, p 218, n. 1, to the effect that Rudra is of the nature of fire (*agnimaya*) and Vishnu of the moon (*Somatmaka*) and together they constitute the entire world. This claim is rejected by J. Gonda in his *Aspects of Early Visnuism*, p. 95f Cf. SB III 6.3 19.

34. Cf. *Mbh.* VIII 202.41 where the body of Siva is said to be composed of the dual elements of Agni and Soma (i.e., fire and nectar); *urubhyam ardham agneyam somardham ca siva tanuh*

35. The precise meaning of this statement is uncertain because of the multivalence of the term for "Immortality" (*a-mr-ta* = "not dead") in Sanskrit literature. From the time of the *Brahmana*-s (SB X 4.1.22) the juice of the Soma plant is identified with the moon, which itself is conceived as the cup containing the beverage of immortality. See J Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, (The Hague : Mouton & Co., 1965), p. 58ff. ; G. Dumezil, *Le Festin d'Immortalite*, (Paris, 1924) p. 110ff. Since the offering of Soma plays no role in the *Satarudriya - homam*, it would, perhaps, be unjustified to link *amrta* in this passage with the Soma offering. *Amrta* is also identified by the Vedic poets with the waters (RV I 23, 19, *apsv antar amrtam*) which served as food (VI 49.16 ; III 26.7) and medicines (*bhesajam*) for the gods. The gods are distinguished from the demons and from human beings by their possession of *amrta* (AV XXX 19.10), the 'food of life' (SB I 2,1.20). The statement that the gods

"bestowed upon Agni the ultimate form of immortality" seems to mean that they provided him with a sacred abode upon the seven-layered altar and kindled him to such great heights by means of the sacrificial oblations that he came to be mystically identified with Rudra.

36. *Deva abibharyuyadhāi no yamnahinsyaditi.*

37. By presenting Rudra with a cereal grain representing both cultivated and uncultivated lands, all areas are protected from the ill-effects of his wrath.

38. *Arkaparna* is the name of the leaf of the plant *Calotropis Gigantea*, which was believed to possess sacred powers and was associated primarily with the rituals dedicated to the Maruts or Rudras, the offspring and "doubles" of Rudra. The root-bark was used in ancient times for medicinal purposes. The ancient Arabs also held the plant in great reverence and used it in numerous rites dedicated to the worship of the sun. It is the *Ushar* of the Arabs and the *Khark* of the Persians—both terms used to designate milk-yielding plants. Abu Hanifeh was perhaps the first Arab writer to give an explicit account of the plant but much more detailed information will be found in the writings of Ebn Baithar (trans. by Southeinier, II. 193). *Arka*, a term derived from the root $\sqrt{\text{arc}}$ = "to shine or blaze", and by extension, "to praise, honor or worship", obviously stands in close symbolic relationship with fire, lightning and other sources of luminosity (esp. the Sun, to which *arka* refers in many instances). The rationale for employing the *arkaparna* in this rite must rest upon

the connections in the oblation between the altar-fire (*agni*) and Rudra, the representative of Agni in his sinister aspect. The blazing fire itself is an expression of the awe-inspiring wrath (*krodha, manyu*) of Rudra. Concerning the botanical and medicinal properties of the *arka*-leaf, consult the following sources: *Economic Botany*, Vol 13, pp. 205 - 42; P. Maheshwari and S. L. Tandon, *Agriculture and Economic Development in India*, 232 ff; *Kew Bulletin*, (1900), pp 8-12; *Revue horticole*, Ser 2, Vol. 3, April. 1844 March 1845, pp. 1-2.

39. Cf. *TB* (17.1.2) where it is related that the Devas and Asuras were engaged in conflict, whereupon the gods said to Agni, 'We shall prevail with you as our champion' to which Agni replied, 'I will transform myself into three aspects. He did so to the end that Agni became the first part, Rudra, the second and Varuna, the third.'

40. According to J. Eggeling (*SBE* 43, p. 157, n.1) the *arka*-leaf is substituted for the customary sacrificial ladle—perhaps, another feature of this rite that sets it apart from the rites customarily offered to deities other than Rudra. According to the scholiast on the *VS*, Mahidhara, in his gloss on XVI. 1, the priest offers oblations on each of the three fire-stones, holding the *arka*-leaf in his right hand and a piece of *arka*-wood in his left hand.

41. I have thus far been unable to discover any modern botanical studies of this species of grass.

42. The *Mbh.* (XIII 97. 12) also dictates that offerings to Soma be presented in the north which is

the location of *somaloka* (Cf. XIII 102.29) in agreement with *SB* VIII 6.1.8.

43. Cf. *Ap. SS* XVII 11, 4 : 1.c.

44. Those lines with double invocations are presented to the Rudras who are most ferocious and difficult to appease.

45. By this means the evil effects of Rudra's presence are expelled from the three levels of the universe. See *Katha Samhita* 21.6 and *Kapisthala Katha Samhita*, which uses the verb *avayajate*, "he expels by sacrifice".

46. Consult *SB* (VI 1.37 ff.) which relates the story of the birth of Rudra from the union of Prajapati and his wife's sister, Usas. See also *Sankh. Br.* VI. 1

47. See *Sayana's* commentary on *Rg-veda* I 114.1 where he provides six different etymologies for the word "rudra". He himself prefers the meaning derived from the Sanskrit root \sqrt{rud} = "to weep" and this interpretation has been adopted traditionally by Indian pandits as the most authoritative derivation.

48. *Svaha*, the oblation personified, is the daughter of Daksa (ritual dexterity) and the spouse of Agni (sacrificial fire) but in other contexts the wife of Rudra-Pasupati as well. See *Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (Oxford University Press, 1899), p. 1284.

49. The "unstringing formulae" (*VS* XVI. 54-63) are recited as verbal counterparts to the corresponding oblation. See *SB* (IX.1.1 27 ff.)

50. Notably, the studies of E. Arbman, A.B. Keith, A.A. Macdonell, *et al.*

51. Consult R C. Zaehner, *Hinduism*, (London, 1962), p. 43. Even a scholar of the erudition and reputation of J. Gonda failed to stress the implications of the assertion that Rudra is an ambivalent and unpredictable deity. See *Vishnuism and Shvaism*, p.4

52. See Richard R. Niebhuur, *Experiential Religion*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 77-106, from which I have drawn much of this interpretation of the concept of fear.

53. Compare Gautama, the Buddha's doctrine of *dukkha* (=ill, imperfection, disease) which presents the same sense of ambiguity between fear and hope, anxiety and confidence as is expressed in Niebuhr's statement.

54. *Ibid.*, p 94.

55. A highly suggestive paper regarding "the use of multiple bodily parts to denote the divine", has just come to my attention, but regrettably too late to be incorporated in the present study. For an elaboration of the same basic principle discussed in this paper, consult, Doris Srinivasan, "The Religious Significance of Multiple Bodily Parts to Denote the Divine : Finds from the Rig Veda", *Asiatische Studien / Etudes Asiatiques* XXIX. 2, (1975), pp. 137-79.

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